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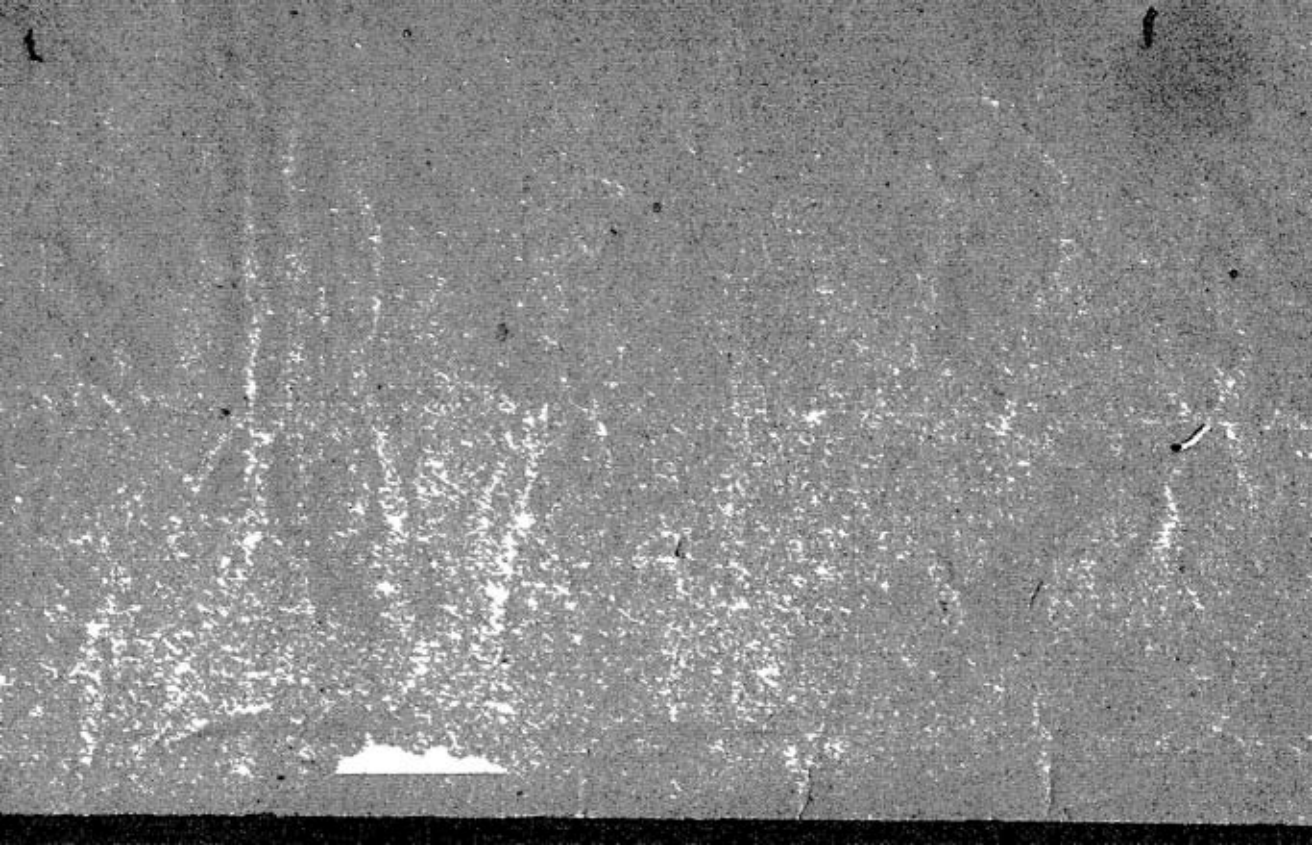
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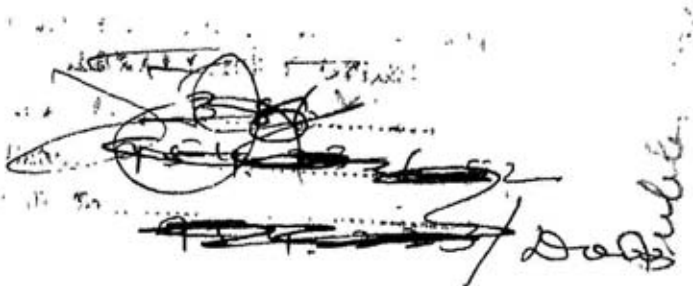
LATER MOGHULS

KHAFI KHAN

THE HISTORY OF INDIA

First Edition 1877
Second Edition 1952

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Published by S. Gupta for Susil Gupta (India) Ltd., 35, Central Avenue, Calcutta 12, and Printed by H. Augustin at Thacker's Press & Directories, Ltd., 6, Bentinck Street, Calcutta 1.

LATER MOGHULS

OF

MUHAMMAD HASHIM, KHAFI KHAN

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

The following work is a reprint of the latter portion of Muntakhabu-l Lubab of Muhammad Hashim, Khafi Khan, the earlier part of which has already been published under the title of Aurangzeb. Starting with the accession of Shah 'Alam Badshah (Bahadur Shah), twelfth in descent from Amir Timur, it concludes with an account of events up to the fourteenth year of the reign of Muhammad Shah.

SIR HENRY ELLIOT'S ORIGINAL PREFACE

A few months since, the Compiler of this Catalogue was engaged in a correspondence with the Principal of the College at Dehli on the subject of lithographing an uniform edition of the Native Historians of India. On referring the matter to his honour the Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces, it was replied that the Education Funds at the disposal of the Government were not sufficient to warrant the outlay of so large a sum as the scheme required, and without which it would have been impossible to complete so expensive an undertaking At the same time it was intimated, that, as few people were acquainted with the particular works which should be selected to form such a series, it would be very desirable that an Index of them should be drawn up, in order that the manuscripts might be sought for, and deposited in one of our College Libraries, to be printed or lithographed hereafter, should circumstances render it expedient, and should the public taste, at present lamentably indifferent, show any inclination for greater familiarity with the true sources of the Muhammadan History of India.

The author willingly undertook this task, as it did not appear one of much difficulty; but in endeavouring to accomplish it, the mere Nominal Index which he was invited to compile, has insensibly expanded into several volumes; for, encouraged not only by finding that no work had ever been written specially on this matter, but also by receiving from many distinguished Orientalists, both European and Native, their confessions of entire ignorance on the subject of his enquiries, he was persuaded that it would be useful to append, as far as his knowledge would permit, a few notes to each history as it came under consideration, illustrative of the matter it comprehends, the style, position, and prejudices of the several authors, and the merits or deficiencies of their execution.

Brief extracts from the several works have been given in the fourth volume, in order to show the style of each author. Some of these have been translated in the three first volumes; of some, where the text is of no interest, the translation has been omitted; but in most instances, the English translations exceed the Persian text. As the translation and the printing of the Persian text occurred at different periods, the translation will be found occasionally to vary from the text, having been executed probably from a different manuscript, and the preferable reading taken for the fourth volume. The versions are inelegant, as, in order to show the nature of the original, they keep as close to it as possible; and no freedom has been indulged in with the object of improving the style, sentiments, connection, or metaphors of the several passages which have been quoted.

The author has been very particular in noticing every translation known to him, in order that students, into whose hands this Index may fall, may be saved the useless trouble, which he in his ignorance has more than once entailed upon himself, of undertaking a translation which had already been executed by others.

He had hoped to be able to append an account of the historians of the independent Muhammadan monarchies, such as of Guzerat, Bengal, Kashmir, and others; but the work, as it is, has already extended to a length beyond what either its name or the interest of the subject warrants, and sufficient information is given respecting their annals in many of the General Histories. For the same reason he must forego an intended notice of the various collections of private letters relating to the history of India, and the matters which chiefly interested the generation of the writers.

The historians of the Dehli Emperors have been noticed down to a period when new actors appear upon the stage; when a more stirring and eventful era of India's history commences; and when the full light of European truth and discernment begins to shed its beams upon the

obscurity of the past, and to relieve us from the necessity of appealing to the Native Chroniclers of the time, who are, for the most part, dull, prejudiced, ignorant, and superficial.

If it be doubted whether it is worth while to trouble ourselves about collecting such works as are here noticed, it is sufficient to reply that other countries have benefited by similar labours—exemplified in the Scriptores Rerum Italicarum, the Auctores Veteres Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ, the Monumenta Boica, the Recueil des Historiens des Gaules, and a hundred other collections of the same kind—but no objection is urged against them on the ground that each chronicler, taken individually, is not of any conspicuous merit. They are universally considered as useful depositories of knowledge, from which the labour and diligence of succeeding scholars may extract materials for the erection of a better and more solid structure. This country offers some peculiar facilities for such a collection, which it would be vain to look for elsewhere; since the number of available persons, sufficiently educated for the purpose of transcribing, collating, and indexing, is very large, and they would be content with a small remuneration. Another urgent reason for undertaking such a work in this country, is the incessant depredation which insects, moths, dust, moisture, and vermin are committing upon the small store of manuscripts which is now extant. Every day is of importance in rescuing the remnant from still further damage, as was too painfully evident a short time ago, from a report presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, respecting the injury which has already been sustained by their collection.

On the other hand, it must not be concealed, that in India, independent of the want of standard books of reference, great difficulties beset the enquirer in this path of literature, arising chiefly from one of the defects in the national character, *viz.* the intense desire for parade and ostentation, which induces authors to quote works they have never seen, and to lay claim to an erudition which

the limited extent of their knowledge does not justify. For instance, not many years ago there was published at Agra a useful set of chronological tables of the Moghul dynasty, said to be founded on the authority of several excellent works named by the author. Having been long in search of many of these works, I requested from the author a more particular account of them. He replied that some had been once in his possession and had been given away; some he had borrowed; and some were lost or mislaid; but the parties to whom he had given, and from whom he had borrowed denied all knowledge of the works, or even of their titles. Indeed, most of them contained nothing on the subject which they were intended to illustrate, and they were evidently mentioned by the author for the mere object of acquiring credit for the accuracy and extent of his researches.

Again, a native gentleman furnished a catalogue of the manuscripts said to compose the historical collection of His Highness the Nizam; but on close examination I found that, from beginning to end, it was a complete fabrication, the names of the works being taken from the prefaces of standard histories, in which it is usual to quote the authorities,—the very identical sequence of names, and even the errors of the originals, being implicitly followed.

Against these impudent and interested frauds we must consequently be on our guard, not less than against the blunders arising from negligence and ignorance; the misquoting of titles, dates, and names; the ascriptions to wrong authors; the absence of beginnings and endings; the arbitrary substitution of new ones to complete a mutilated manuscript; the mistakes of copyists; the exercise of ingenuity in their corrections, and of fancy in their additions; all these, added to the ordinary sources of error attributable to the well-known difficulty of deciphering Oriental manuscripts, present many obstacles sufficient to damp even the ardour of an enthusiast. Besides which, we have to lament the entire absence of literary

history and biography, which in India is devoted only to saints and poets. Where fairy tales and fictions are included under the general name of history, we cannot expect to learn much respecting the character, pursuits, motives, and actions of historians, unless they are pleased to reveal them to us themselves, and to entrust us with their familiar confidences; or unless they happen to have enacted a conspicuous part in the scenes which they describe. Even in Europe this deficiency has been complained of; how much more, then, is it likely to be a subject of regret, where despotism is triumphant; where the active elements of life are few; and where individual character, trammelled by so many restraining influences, has no opportunity of development.

It must be understood, then, that this Index has not been constructed on account of any intrinsic value in the histories themselves. Indeed, it is almost a misnomer to style them histories. They can scarcely claim to rank higher than annals. "Erat enim historia nihil aliud, nisi annalium confectio Hanc similitudinem scribendi multi secuti sunt, qui, sine ullis ornamentis, monimenta solum temporum, hominum, locorum, gestarumque rerum reliquerunt. . . . Non exornatores rerum, sed tantummodo narratores fuerunt."[1] They comprise, for the most part nothing but a mere dry narration of events, conducted with reference to chronological sequence, never grouped philosophically according to their relations. Without speculation on causes or effects; without a reflection or suggestion which is not of the most puerile and contemptible kind; and without any observations calculated to interrupt the monotony of successive conspiracies, revolts, intrigues, murders, and fratricides, so common in Asiatic monarchies, and to which India unhappily forms no exception. If we are somewhat relieved from the contemplation of such scenes when we come to the accounts of the earlier Moghul Emperors, we have what is little more inviting in the records of the stately magnificence and ceremonious

[1] De Orat, II, 12

observances of the Court, and the titles, jewels, swords, drums, standards, elephants, and horses bestowed upon the dignitaries of the Empire.

If the artificial definition of Dionysius be correct, that "History is philosophy teaching by examples," then there is no Native Indian Historian; and few have even approached to so high a standard. Of examples, and very bad ones, we have ample store, though even in them the radical truth is obscured by the hereditary, official, and sectarian prepossessions of the narrator; but of philosophy, which deduces conclusions calculated to benefit us by the lessons and experience of the past, which adverts on the springs and consequences of political transactions, and offers sage counsel for the future, we search in vain for any sign or symptom. Of domestic history also we have in our Indian Annalists absolutely nothing, and the same may be remarked of nearly all Muhammadan historians, except Ibn Khaldun. By them society is never contemplated, either in its conventional usages or recognised privileges; its constituent elements or mutual relations; in its established classes or popular institutions; in its private recesses or habitual intercourses. In notices of commerce, agriculture, internal police, and local judicature, they are equally deficient. A fact, an anecdote, a speech, a remark, which would illustrate the condition of the common people, or of any rank subordinate to the highest, is considered too insignificant to be suffered to intrude upon a relation which concerns only grandees and ministers, "thrones and imperial powers."

Hence it is that these works may be said to be deficient in some of the most essential requisites of history, for "its great object," says Dr. Arnold, "is that which most nearly touches the inner life of civilised man, namely, the vicissitudes of institutions, social, political, and religious. This is the *teleiotaton telos* of historical enquiry."[1] In Indian histories there is little which enables us to penetrate

[1] Lectures on Mod. Hist., p. 123.

below the glittering surface, and observe the practical operation of a despotic Government and rigorous and sanguinary laws, and the effect upon the great body of the nation of these injurious influences and agencies.

If, however, we turn our eyes to the present Muhammadan kingdoms of India, and examine the character of the princes, and the condition of the people subject to their sway, we may fairly draw a parallel between ancient and modern times, under circumstances and relations nearly similar. We behold kings, even of our own creation, sunk in sloth and debauchery, and emulating the vices of a Caligula or a Commodus. Under such rulers, we cannot wonder that the fountains of justice are corrupted; that the state revenues are never collected without violence and outrage; that villages are burnt, and their inhabitants mutilated or sold into slavery; that the officials, so far from affording protection, are themselves the chief robbers and usurpers; that parasites and eunuchs revel in the spoil of plundered provinces, and that the poor find no redress against the oppressor's wrong and proud man's contumely. When we witness these scenes under our own eyes, where the supremacy of the British Government, the benefit of its example, and the dread of its interference, might be expected to operate as a check upon the progress of misrule, can we be surprised that former princes, when free from such restraints, should have studied even less to preserve the people committed to their charge, in wealth, peace, and prosperity? Had the authors, whom we are compelled to consult, portrayed their Caesars with the fidelity of Suetonius, instead of the more congenial sycophancy of Paterculus, we should not, as now, have to extort from unwilling witnesses, testimony to the truth of these assertions. From them, nevertheless, we can gather, that the common people must have been plunged into the lowest depths of wretchedness and despondency. The few glimpses we have, even among the short Extracts in this single volume, of Hindus slain for disputing with Muhammadans, of general prohibitions against pro-

cessions, worship, and ablutions, and of other intolerant measures, of idols mutilated, of temples razed, of forcible conversions and marriages, of proscriptions and confiscations, of murders and massacres, and of the sensuality and drunkenness of the tyrants who enjoined them, show us that this picture is not overcharged, and it is much to be regretted that we are left to draw it for ourselves from out the mass of ordinary occurrences, recorded by writers who seem to sympathise with no virtues, and to abhor no vices. Other nations exhibit the same atrocities, but they are at least spoken of, by some, with indignation and disgust. Whenever, therefore, in the course of this Index, a work is characterised as excellent, admirable or valuable, it must be remembered that these terms are used relatively to the narrative only; and it is but reasonable to expect that the force of these epithets will be qualified by constant advertence to the deficiencies just commented on.

These deficiencies are more to be lamented, where, as sometimes happens, a Hindu is the author. From one of that nation we might have expected to have learnt what were the feelings, hopes, faiths, fears and yearnings, of his subject race; but, unfortunately, he rarely writes unless according to order or dictation, and every phrase is studiously and servilely turned to flatter the vanity of an imperious Muhammadan patron. There is nothing to betray his religion or his nation, except, perhaps, a certain stiffness and affectation of style, which show how ill the foreign garb befits him. With him, a Hindu is "an infidel," and a Muhammadan "one of the true faith," and of the holy saints of the calendar, he writes with all the fervour of a bigot. With him, when Hindus are killed, "their souls are despatched to hell," and when a Muhammadan suffers the same fate, "he drinks the cup of martyrdom." He is so far wedded to the set phrases and inflated language of his conquerors, that he speaks of "the light of Islam shedding its refulgence on the world," of "the blessed Muharram," and of "the illustrious Book." He usually opens with a "Bismillah," and the ordinary profession of

faith in the unity of the Godhead, followed by laudations of the holy prophet, his disciples and descendants, and indulges in all the most devout and orthodox attestations of Muhammadans. One of the Hindu authors here noticed, speaks of standing in his old age, "at the head of his bier and on the brink of his grave," though he must have been fully aware that, before long, his remains would be burnt, and his ashes cast into the Ganges. Even at a later period, when no longer "Tiberii ac Neronis res ob *metum* falsae,"[1] there is not one of this slavish crew who treats the history of his native country subjectively, or presents us with the thoughts, emotions, and raptures which a long oppressed race might be supposed to give vent to, when freed from the tyranny of its former masters, and allowed to express itself in the natural language of the heart, without constraint and without adulation.

But, though the intrinsic value of these works may be small, they will still yield much that is worth observation to any one who will attentively examine them. They will serve to dispel the mists of ignorance by which the knowledge of India is too much obscured, and show that the history of the Muhammadan period remains yet to be written. They will make our native subjects more sensible of the immense advantages accruing to them under the mildness and equity of our rule. If instruction were sought for from them, we should be spared the rash declarations respecting Muhammadan India, which are frequently made by persons not otherwise ignorant. Characters now renowned only for the splendour of their achievements, and a succession of victories, would, when we withdraw the veil of flattery, and divest them of rhetorical flourishes, be set forth in a truer light, and probably be held up to the execration of mankind. We should no longer hear bombastic Babus, enjoying under our Government the highest degree of personal liberty, and many more political privileges than were ever conceded to a conquered nation, rant about patriotism, and the degradation of their present

[1] Tacitus, Annal., i, 1.

position. If they would dive into any of the volumes mentioned herein, it would take these young Brutuses and Phocions a very short time to learn, that in the days of that dark period for whose return they sigh, even the bare utterance of their ridiculous fantasies would have been attended, not with silence and contempt, but with the severer discipline of molten lead or empalement. We should be compelled to listen no more to the clamours against resumption of rent-free tenures, when almost every page will show that there was no tenure, whatever its designation, which was not open to resumption in the theory of the law, and which was not repeatedly resumed in practice. Should any ambitious functionary entertain the desire of emulating the "exceedingly magnifical" structures of his Moghul predecessors,[1] it will check his aspirations to learn, that beyond palaces and porticos, temples, and tombs, there is little worthy of emulation. He will find that, if we omit only three names in the long line of Dehli Emperors, the comfort and happiness of the people were never contemplated by them; and with the exception of a few sarais[2] and bridges,—and these only on

[1] This was the grandiloquent declaration of a late Governor-General (Lord Ellenborough) at a farewell banquet given to him by the Court of Directors. But when his head became turned by the laurels which the victories of others placed upon his brow, these professions were forgotten; and the only monument remaining of his peaceful aspirations, is a tank under the palace walls of Dehli, which, as it remains empty during one part of the year, and exhales noxious vapours during the other, has been voted a nuisance by the inhabitants of the imperial city, who have actually petitioned that it may be filled up again.

[2] The present dilapidation of these buildings is sometimes adduced as a proof of our indifference to the comforts of the people. It is not considered, that where they do exist in good repair, they are but little used, and that the present system of Government no longer renders it necessary that travellers should seek protection within fortified enclosures. If they are to be considered proofs of the solicitude of former monarchs for their subjects' welfare, they are also standing memorials of the weakness and inefficiency of their administration. Add to which, that many of the extant sarais were the offspring, not of imperial, but of private liberality.

roads traversed by the imperial camps—he will see nothing in which purely selfish considerations did not prevail. The extreme beauty and elegance of many of their structures it is not attempted to deny; but personal vanity was the main cause of their erection, and with the small exception noted above, there is not one which subserves any purpose of general utility. His romantic sentiments may have been excited by the glowing imagery of Lalla Rookh, and he may have indulged himself with visions of Jahangir's broad highway from one distant capital to the other, shaded throughout the whole length by stately avenues of trees, and accommodated at short distance with sarais and tanks; but the scale of that Emperor's munificence will probably be reduced in his eyes, when he sees it written, that the same work had already been in great measure accomplished by Sher Shah, and that the same merit is also ascribed to a still earlier predecessor; nor will it be an unreasonable reflection, when he finds, except a ruined milestone here and there, no vestige extant of this magnificent highway, and this "delectable alley of trees," that, after all, that can have been no very stupendous work, which the resources of three successive Emperors have failed to render a more enduring monument.[1] When he reads of the canals of Firoz Shah and 'Ali Mardan Khan intersecting the country, he will find on further examination, that even if the former was ever open, it was used only for the palace and hunting park of that monarch; but when he ascertains that no mention is made of it by any of the historians of Timur, who are very minute in their topographical details, and that Babar exclaims in his Memoirs, that in *none* of the Hindustani Provinces are there any canals (and both these conquerors must have passed over these canals, had they been flowing in their time), he may, perhaps, be disposed to doubt if anything was proceeded with beyond the mere excavation. With respect to 'Ali Mardan Khan, his merits will be less

[1] Coryat speaks of the avenue, "the most incomparable I ever beheld."—Kerr, ix, 421.

extolled, when it is learnt that his canals were made, not with any view to benefit the public, but for an ostentatious display of his profusion, in order that the hoards of his ill-gotten wealth might not be appropriated by the monarch to whom he betrayed his trust. When he reads that in some of the reigns of these kings, security of person and property was so great, that any traveller might go where he listed, and that a bag of gold might be exposed on the highways, and no one dare touch it,[1] he will learn to exercise a wise scepticism, on ascertaining that in one of the most vigorous reigns, in which internal tranquillity was more than ever secured, a caravan was obliged to remain six weeks at Muttra, before the parties who accompanied it thought themselves strong enough to proceed to Dehli;[2] that the walls of Agra were too weak to save the city from frequent attacks of marauders; that Kanauj was a favourite beat for tiger-shooting, and wild elephants plentiful at Karra and Kalpi;[3] that the depopulation of towns and cities, which many declamatory writers have ascribed to our measures of policy, had already commenced before we entered on possession; and that we found, to use the words of the Prophet, "the country desolate, the cities burnt, when the sons of strangers came to build up the walls, and their kings to minister."

If we pay attention to more general considerations, and wish to compare the relative merits of European and Asiatic Monarchies, we shall find that a perusal of these books will convey many an useful lesson, calculated to

[1] It is worth while to read the comment of the wayfaring European on this pet phrase. Bernier, describing his situation when he arrived at the Court of Shah Jahan, speaks of "le peu d'argent qui me restoit de diverses rencontres de voleurs."—Hist. des Estats du Grand Mogol, p. 5.

[2] Captain Coverte (1609-10) says that people, even on the high road from Surat to Agra, dared not travel, except in caravans of 400 or 500 men.—Churchill, viii, 252. See Jahangir's Autobiography, 177; *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, Jan. 1850, p. 37.

[3] Elphinstone's Hist., ii, 241.

foster in us a love and admiration of our country and its venerable institutions.

When we see the withering effects of the tyranny and capriciousness of a despot, we shall learn to estimate more fully the value of a balanced constitution. When we see the miseries which are entailed on present and future generations by disputed claims to the crown, we shall more than ever value the principle of a regulated succession, subject to no challenge or controversy. In no country have these miseries been greater than in India. In no country has the recurrence been more frequent, and the claimants more numerous. From the death of Akbar to the British conquest of Dehli—a period of two hundred years—there has been only one undisputed succession to the throne of the Moghul Empire, and even that exceptional instance arose from its not being worth a contest; at that calamitous time, when the memory of the ravages committed by Nadir Shah was fresh in the minds of men, and the active hostility of the Abdali seemed to threaten a new visitation. Even now, as experience has shown, we should not be without claimants to the pageant throne, were it not disposed of at the sovereign will and pleasure of the British Government, expressed before the question can give rise to dispute, or encourage those hopes and expectations, which on each occasion sacrificed the lives of so many members of the Royal Family at the shrine of a vain and reckless ambition.

It is this want of a fixed rule of succession to the throne, which has contributed to maintain the kingdom in a constant ferment, and retard the progress of improvement. It was not that the reigning monarch's choice of his successor was not promulgated; but in a pure despotism, though the will of a living autocrat carries with it the force of law, the injunctions of a dead one avail little against the "lang claymore" or the "persuasive gloss" of a gallant or an intriguing competitor. The very law of primogeniture, which seems to carry with it the strongest sanctions, is only more calculated to excite and foment

these disturbances, where regal descent is not avowedly based on that rule, and especially in a country where polygamy prevails; for the eldest prince is he who has been longest absent from the Court, whose sympathies have been earliest withdrawn from the influence of his own home, whose position in charge of an independent government inspires most alarm and mistrust in the reigning monarch, and whose interests are the first to be sacrificed, to please some young and favourite queen, ambitious of seeing the crown on the head of her own child. In such a state of society, the princes themselves are naturally brought up, always as rivals, sometimes as adventurers and robbers; the chiefs espouse the cause of one or the other pretender, not for the maintenance of any principle or right, but with the prospect of early advantage or to gratify a personal predilection; and probably end in themselves aspiring to be usurpers on their own account; the people, thoroughly indifferent to the success of either candidate, await with anxiety the issue, which shall enable them to pursue for a short time the path of industry and peace, till it shall again be interrupted by new contests; in short, all classes, interests, and institutions are more or less affected by the general want of stability, which is the necessary result of such unceasing turmoil and agitation.

These considerations, and many more which will offer themselves to any diligent and careful peruser of the volumes here noticed, will serve to dissipate the gorgeous illusions which are commonly entertained regarding the dynasties which have passed, and show him that, notwithstanding a civil policy and an ungenial climate, which forbid our making this country a permanent home, and deriving personal gratification or profit from its advancement, notwithstanding the many defects necessarily inherent in a system of foreign administration, in which language, colour, religion, customs, and laws preclude all natural sympathy between sovereign and subject, we have already, within the half-century of our dominion, done more for the substantial benefit of the people, than our

predecessors, in the country of their own adoption, were able to accomplish in more than ten times that period;[1] and, drawing auguries from the past, he will derive hope for the future, that, inspired by the success which has hitherto attended our endeavours, we shall follow them up by continuous efforts to fulfil our high destiny as the rulers of India.

[1] I speak only with reference to my own Presidency, the North-Western Provinces. Bengal is said to be a quarter of a century behind it in every symptom of improvement, except mere English education. To the North-Western Provinces, at least, cannot be applied the taunt, that we have done nothing, compared with the Muhammadan Emperors, with respect to roads, bridges, and canals. Even here, in the very seat of their supremacy, we have hundreds of good district roads where one never existed before, besides the 400 miles of trunk-road, which is better than any mail-road of similar extent in Europe, and to which the Emperors never had anything in the remotest degree to be compared. The bridge of Jaunpur is the only one that can enter into competition with our bridge over the Hindun, and would suffer greatly by the comparison, to say nothing of those over the Jua, the Khanaut, and the Kalinadi. In canals we have been fifty times more effective. Instead of wasting our supply of water on the frivolities of fountains, we have fertilised whole provinces, which had been barren from time immemorial, and this even on the lines of which much was marked out by themselves, leaving out of consideration the magnificent works in progress in the Doab and Rohilkhand. The scientific survey alone of the North-Western Provinces is sufficient to proclaim our superiority; in which every field throughout an area of 52,000 square miles is mapped, and every man's possession recorded. It altogether eclipses the boasted measurement of Akbar, and is as magnificent a monument of civilisation as any country in the world can produce. Finally, be it remembered that six centuries more have to elapse before anything like a comparison can be fairly instituted. It is to be hoped we shall not be idle during that long period.

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Accession of Shah 'Alam Badshah (Bahadur Shah), Twelfth in Descent from Amir Timur

Prince Muhammad A'zam Shah Claims the Crown

(Text, vol. ii, p. 566.) Prince Muhammad A'zam Shah, having taken leave of his father, was proceeding to his governorship of Malwa. He had travelled about twenty *kos* from the army, when one evening the intelligence of the Emperor's death reached him. On the same day he left his baggage and equipments, and with some of the chief nobles and an escort, he set off with all speed for the army. On arriving there, he entered the great tent. All the nobles came forth to meet him, and to console and sympathise with him, except Asad Khan and Hamid Khan, who were attending to the business of mourning and watching inside. After the burial was over, Jamdatu-l Mulk Asad Khan and other nobles and officers offered their condolences. An inspection was made of the amount of treasure, jewels, artillery, and effects. What was capable of being removed was separated and placed under the charge of vigilant officers, to provide the means of carriage and the supplies necessary for a journey. Hindi and Persian astrologers fixed on the 10th Zi-l hijja[1] as the day for ascending the throne.

Prince Bedar Bakht, who had been left at Ahmadabad in charge of his government, arrived. Ibrahim Khan, *subadar*, also thought of coming, but an order was issued for his going to the frontier of Malwa, there to await further orders. He was directed not to be precipitate, but to await the arrival of the new monarch. The author of this work was at that time in the company of Muhammad Murad Khan, who was *Waki'-nigar* and *Sawanih-nigar* of all the province of Ahmadabad, and was *faujdar* of the *sarkar* of Thanesar and Kudra. On the 9th Zi-l hijja Murad Khan received a robe, on taking leave of Prince Bedar Bakht, and went home. Just then some servants of Ibrahim Khan *Nazim* came to summon him. When he waited on Ibrahim Khan, and the

[1] 1118 Hijra, 5th March, 1707.

latter became aware of his having received a robe from Bedar Bakht, he asked if the Prince had received any intelligence from his father, and in what condition the Prince was. Murad Khan replied that he did not know of any fresh news, and the Prince's health appeared to be as usual. Ibrahim Khan then placed in the hands of Murad Khan a letter, which he had received at Ahmadabad on the 10th from his *vakil* at Ahmadnagar, informing him of the sad event which had occurred, and said, "You must this very moment go to the Prince with the letter and offer our condolence."

Murad Khan went home, changed his robe, and went to wait upon the Prince. He found that the Prince was asleep; but considering the pressing nature of his mission, he told the eunuch on duty that he must awake the Prince as cautiously as he could. As soon as the Prince was aroused, he was told that Murad Khan was anxious to see him, and had caused him to be awoke. The Prince had received information of the Emperor's illness, and he asked if Murad Khan still wore the robe which had been presented to him, and the eunuch replied that he was dressed in a fresh robe of white. The Prince's eyes filled with tears, and he sent for Murad Khan into a private room. The Khan placed in his hand the letter which had arrived, and offered his own and Ibrahim Khan's condolences. After that the Prince said to Murad Khan, "You know full well that the realm of Hindustan will now fall into anarchy. People did not know the value of the Emperor. I only hope that Heaven will direct matters as I wish, and that the empire will be given to my father."

Ibrahim Khan afterwards was in doubt as to what Prince's name was to be recited in the *khutba* on the day of the *'I'du-zzuha,* and it was decided that after the rising of the sun, and before the news of Aurangzeb's death was spread abroad, the *khutba* should be read in Aurangzeb's name in the *'I'dgah.* Ibrahim Khan ranged himself among the partisans of A'zam Shah, and he resolved that if, as he expected, instructions should come for him to accompany Prince Bedar Bakht, he would assemble his forces and would

hasten with the Prince to Agra. In fact, if Muhammad A'zam Shah had not been mistrustful[1] and forbidden it, he (Ibrahim Khan) would have helped Prince Bedar Bakht on his way[2]. Mukhtar Khan, father-in-law of Bedar Bakht, was *subadar* of Agra. He had nine *krors* of rupees, besides *ashrafis* and presentation money (*rupiya-i gharib nawaz*), amounting to as much as five hundred *tolas* in weight; and he had uncoined gold and silver in the shape of vessels. Baki Khan, the commander of the fortress, who had the treasure in his charge, designed to surrender the treasure and the keys of the fortress to whichever of the heirs of the kingdom should present himself. (Ibrahim Khan's plan) was the right and advisable course to pursue; but what God had ordained came to pass.

Prince Kam Bakhsh

(Text, vol. ii, p. 569.) A few words now about Prince Kam Bakhsh. After leaving his venerable father, he went to the fort of Parenda, forty or fifty *kos* distant. There he received the sad news of his father's decease. Muhammad Amin Khan, with a number of persons, went off to wait upon A'zam Shah, without the leave or knowledge of Kam Bakhsh. Great division and contention arose in his army in consequence of this defection. Ahsan Khan, otherwise called Mir Sultan Hasan, supported by the sympathy and good feeling of many who remained, exerted himself and set off with the intention of taking possession of the fort of Bijapur. On arriving near the place, he sent a kind and flattering message to Niyaz Khan, the commandant, to induce him to deliver up the fortress. Niyaz Khan refused, and set about putting the fortifications in order. Intrenchments were then thrown up opposite the gate. Rumours

[1] "The insinuations of envious people had turned the mind of A'zam Shah against Bedar Bakht, and a *farman* was sent desiring him to go from Ahmadabad to Malwa, and to wait at Ujjain for further instructions. The same ill-feeling also prompted the refusal of permission for him to go to Agra."—*Tazkira-i Chaghatai.*

[2] This is a somewhat doubtful sentence.

of the death of Aurangzeb had been floating in the air before the arrival of Kam Bakhsh, and were now confirmed. Negotiations were opened, and through the exertions and skilful management of Ahsan Khan, the keys of the fortress were given up by Saiyid Niyaz Khan, who waited on the Prince and made submission. At the end of two months the city and environs were brought into a state of order. Ahsan Khan was made *bakhshi*, and the portfolio of *wazir* was given to Hakim Muhsin, with the title Takarrub Khan. ... Other adherents were rewarded with jewels and titles. The Prince then assumed the throne. He was mentioned in the *khutba* under the title of *Din-panah* (Asylum of the Faith), and coins also were issued with this title.

Prince Kam Bakhsh then assembled some seven or eight thousand horse, and marched to subdue the fort of Wakinkera. After a march or two Saiyid Niyaz Khan left his tent standing, and fled in the night to Muhammad A'zam Khan. On reaching Kulbarga, the Prince took possession of the fort, and, on the recommendation of Ahsan Khan, placed it under the command of Saiyid Ja'far, one of the Saiyids of Barha. He then marched on to Wakinkera, which, since the death of Aurangzeb, had again fallen into the hands of Parya Naik. On arriving there, lines were formed, and the siege commenced under the direction of Ahsan Khan. Parya Naik defended the place for fifteen or twenty days, when it surrendered, through the mediation of Ahsan Khan. An officer was placed in command, and the army marched on to further conquests. There was a great rivalry between Takarrub Khan and Ahsan Khan. The former removed Saiyid Ja'far from the command of Kulbarga, and appointed another person to the charge. When Kam Bakhsh returned to Kulbarga, he restored Saiyid Ja'far. ... After pacifying Ahsan Khan, the Prince sent him to lay siege to Karnul, and directed his youngest son to accompany him as a check (*tora*). The commandant was unwilling to surrender, and, after some negotiations and siege work, he presented three *lacs* of rupees to Ahsan Khan for the use of the government, and so induced him to move away....

Prince A'zam Shah

(Vol. ii, p. 571.) On the 10th Zi-l hijja A'zam Shah, having ascended the throne, made his accession public in the Dakhin by coins struck in the name of A'zam Shah. Having gratified the old nobles of the State with robes and jewels, augmentations of *mansabs* and promises, he set off, about the middle of Zi-l hijja, to encounter Shah 'Alam, accompanied by *Jamdatu-l Mulk Amiru-l umara* Asad Khan, Zu-l fikar Khan Bahadur *Nusrat Jang* and (many other nobles). He marched to *Khujista-bunyad* (Aurangabad), ... and from thence arrived at Burhanpur. After leaving that place, he was abandoned by Muhammad Amin Khan, and Chin Kalich Khan, who had received the title of *Khan-dauran*. They were offended by the treatment they received from A'zam Shah, and went off to Aurangabad, where they took possession of several districts.

Shah 'Alam (Bahadur Shah)

(Vol. ii, p. 573.) An account must now be given of the proceedings of Shah 'Alam Bahadur Shah. The late Emperor had appointed Mun'im Khan, a very able man of business, to the management of Kabul. He had shown great devotion and fidelity to Shah 'Alam, so that the Prince placed in his hands the management of his *jagirs* in the province of Lahore, and had recommended him for the *diwani* of the province to the Emperor, who appointed him to that office. When Mun'im Khan received intelligence of the continued illness of the Emperor, in his faithfulness to Shah 'Alam, he busied himself in making preparations in the countries lying between Lahore and Peshawar, finding means of transport, collecting camels and bullocks, and providing things necessary for carrying on a campaign, so as to be ready at the time of need.

On the 7th Zi-l hijja the news of Aurangzeb's death reached Peshawar, and the Prince immediately prepared to set out. Next day a letter came from Mun'im Khan, offering congratulations upon the Prince's accession to royalty, and urging him to come quickly. Orders were

given for the march, and next day the Prince started, making no delay, accompanied by his nobles, except Fathu-llah Khan, a man of great bravery lately appointed to Kabul, who declined to accompany him. Orders were given that Jan-nisar Khan, who was only second in courage to Fathu-llah Khan, should go with five or six thousand horse to the neighbourhood of Agra, to join Prince 'Azimu-sh Shan. Orders also were sent calling Prince Mu'izzu-d din from his government of Thatta, and A'azzu-d din from Multan, where he was acting as the deputy of his father. Other presumed adherents were also sent for.

Shah 'Alam proceeded by regular marches to Lahore. Mun'im Khan came forth to meet him, paid his homage, offered forty *lacs* of rupees, and presented the soldiers, artillery and equipments that he had busied himself in collecting directly he had heard of the death of Aurangzeb. Shah 'Alam appointed him *wazir*. At the end of Muharram, 1119 (April 1707), the Prince encamped at Lahore. There he remained over the new moon of Safar, and gave orders for the coining of money and reading the *khutba* in his name. The nobles in his retinue presented their offerings and paid their homage. Directions were given that the new rupee should be increased half a *masha* in weight, and *lacs* were accordingly coined of that weight; but as in the payment of *tankhwah*, and in commercial transactions, it was received at only the old rate, the new rule was discontinued.

Prince Muhammad Mu'izzu-d din and his son A'azzu-d din now arrived. (*Great distribution of honours and mansabs.*) A letter was received from Prince Muhammad 'Azim, stating that he had raised more than twenty thousand horse, and was hastening to reach Agra before Prince Bedar Bakht. News also arrived that Agra had been secured, that Mukhtar Khan had been placed in confinement, and that Baki Khan, the commandant of the fort, put off surrendering the treasure with the excuse that he would wait till His Majesty arrived. Spies and news-writers reported that Baki Khan had written with great humility to Prince Muhammad A'zam, that although the

fort and the treasures belonged to both the heirs to the crown, he would surrender them to whichever arrived first. There was not a single person who doubted that, comparing the distance of Peshawar with the difficulties in the way of A'zam Shah, Shah 'Alam would arrive before him.

On Shah 'Alam arriving at Delhi, . . . the commandant sent the keys of the fortress with his offering, and many others made their allegiance. At the beginning of Rabi'u-l awwal he started for Agra, and reached the environs of that city about the middle of the month, where he was met by his son, Muhammad 'Azim and by Muhammad Kar'im, the son of Prince 'Azim. Baki Khan gave up the keys of the fortress, with the treasure, for which he received great favour and rewards. According to one account, there were nine *krors* of rupees, in rupees and *ashrafis*, besides vessels of gold and silver, which was what was left remaining of the twenty-four *krors* of rupees amassed by Shah Jahan, after what had been expended by Aurangzeb during his reign, principally in his wars in the Dakhin. According to another account, including the presentation money, which consisted of *ashrafis* and rupees of 100 to 300 *tolas'* weight, specially coined for presents,[1] and the *ashrafis* of twelve *mashas* and thirteen *mashas* of the reign of Akbar, the whole amounted to thirteen *krors*. An order was given for bringing out directly four *krors* of rupees. Three *lacs* were to be given to each of the royal Princes, altogether nine *lacs*, three *lacs* to Khan-zaman and his sons, one *lac* to the Saiyids of Barha, one *lac* to Aghar Khan and his Mughals. In the same way the officers in his retinue, and the old servants, soldiers (*and others, received gratuitous additions of pay and donations*). Altogether two *krors* were distributed.

March of Prince A'zam

(Vol. ii, p. 581.) Prince A'zam Shah, with his artillery, and a force of nearly thirty-five thousand horse actually present (*maujudi*), which according to military reckoning

[1] See Thomas's *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings*, p. 423.

means an army of more than eighty or ninety thousand men, and with his *amirs* and adherents, marched forth for war. He endeavoured, by augmentations of *mansabs* and promotions in rank, to secure the good will of the nobles; but in providing for advances and pay to the army, and in giving assistance and presents of money, he, through want of treasure, was very sparing. If any of his most attached nobles spoke to him on this subject, he, in his proud and haughty way, gave sharp answers that there was no real necessity in his army, but fear of the opposite party.[1] In fact, he had not money to be liberal with; but his bitter words, and the ill temper which he occasionally showed, pained and disgusted many of his followers. After he departed from Burhanpur, Chin Kalich Khan, who had been created *Khan-dauran*, went off with several noted men and returned to Aurangabad. Muhammad Amin also, with many Mughals, plundered the *banjaras* of the army, and fell back to Aurangabad. When the Prince was told of such matters, he paid no attention to them, and made no change in his conduct. After crossing the river (Nerbadda) at Handiya, he arrived at Doraha.

Release of Sahu

(Vol. ii, p. 582.) Zu-l fikar Khan *Nusrat Jang* was very intimate with Sahu, grandson of Sivaji, and had long been interested in his affairs. He now persuaded A'zam Shah to set this Sahu at liberty, along with several persons who were his friends and companions. Sahu, with fifty or sixty men, who were able to accompany him, went off to Mohan Singh, a noted rebellious *zamindar*, in the difficult mountain country of Bijagarh, Sultanpur, and Nandurbar. He supplied Sahu with some necessary equipments, and Sahu then went on to a Mahratta named Ambu, but more famous under the name of Pand, who was an active rebel. This man held the fort of Kokarmanda[2] in Sultanpur, and

[1] The *Tazkira-i Chaghatai* adds that the army suffered greatly on the march from the heat of the weather and want of water

[2] On the north bank of the Tapti.

ravaged the whole country from Surat to Burhanpur. He furnished Sahu with a body of men, and sent him to his native country and to the lofty fortresses, of which several that had been reduced by Aurangzeb had again fallen into the hands of the rebels during the days of contention for the empire. Many Mahratta *sardars*, who through necessity had deceitfully joined themselves to the party of Rani Tara Bai, widow of Ram Raja, now came and joined Raja Sahu.

Having collected a large army, Sahu proceeded to the neighbourhood of Ahmadnagar, and then, according to a report at the time, he put off his journey, and went to the place where Aurangzeb died. He paid a mourning visit to the place, and distributed money and food to the poor. Then, with his large army, which numbered nearly 20,000 Mahratta horse, he marched with the intention of showing his respect to the tomb of Aurangzeb, near Daulatabad, at a place now called Khuldabad.[1] When his advance party approached Aurangabad, although Sahu and his brothers in his company had no intention of ravaging, the old habit prevailed, and some of his men began plundering in the vicinity of Aurangabad. Mansur Khan and the other officers in the city bestirred themselves, put the fortifications in order, and endeavoured to repress these outrages. Raja Sahu also forbade his men to plunder, and after visiting the tombs of the great men, and of Aurangzeb, he went his way to his forts.

Defeat and Death of A'zam Shah

(Vol. ii, p. 583.) A'zam Shah passed the Nerbadda, and arrived at Gwalior. There he heard of the arrival at Agra of Shah 'Alam, and of Prince 'Azim, with his powerful army.... He left *Amiru-l umara* Asad Khan at Gwalior with the ladies and unnecessary equipments and jewels and treasure,... and having distributed a little money among the

[1] Aurangzeb had treated Sahu, his boy prisoner, with great familiarity and kindness. It was he who gave the child the name of Sahu, which he afterwards preferred and retained. Aurangzeb was called "Khuld-makan," hence the name Khuldabad.

was that Shah 'Alam would be so much discouraged that he would retreat. A'zam Shah got angry, and said with warmth and bitterness, "This is the counsel of women." In short, although a great portion of A'zam Shah's army was busy in destroying and plundering, strict and precise orders were issued to the leading forces, and on the 18th Rabi'u-l awwal, 1119 A.H. (10th June, A.D. 1707), the two armies joined battle at Jaju, seven or eight *kos* from Agra. [*Long details of the action.*]

Prince Bedar Bakht, after rendering splendid service, which shed a halo round him, was killed by a cannon-ball, and many of his followers also fell.... His younger brother Walajah was killed by a ball from a *zamburak*.... A strong wind arose, which blew straight from the side of Shah 'Alam against the army of A'zam Shah, so that every arrow with the help of the wind of fate, reached the army of A'zam Shah, and pierced through armour;... but the rockets and the arrows and the balls from his side, being resisted by the contrary wind, failed to reach the ranks of the enemy, and fell upon the ground. It is said that Tarbiyat Khan twice discharged a musket from the army of A'zam Shah against Prince 'Azimu-sh Shan. Both shots failed; but a musket-ball from the other side reached the Khan's breast, and at the same moment an arrow pierced him and he died.

Matters now looked ill in every way for A'zam Shah.... On the side of Shah 'Alam fourteen or fifteen nobles of distinction were killed,... and a great number on the side of A'zam Shah were slain. Zu-l fikar Khan received a slight wound upon the lip. When he saw that the day was lost, that many of his valiant companions in arms were slain, and that A'zam Shah's army was pressed so hard that there was no hope of deliverance, he went to the Prince and said, "Your ancestors have had to endure the same kind of reverse, and have been deprived of their armies; but they did not refuse to do what the necessities of the case required. The best course for you now is to leave the field of battle, and to remove to a distance, when fortune may perhaps assist you, and you may retrieve your reverse." A'zam Shah flew into a rage, and said, "Go with your bravery,

and save your life wherever you can; it is impossible for me to leave this field: for princes there is (only the choice of) a throne or a bier" (*takht ya takhta*). Zu-l fikar Khan, accompanied by Hamidu-d din Khan, then went off to Gwalior.

The ill-fated Prince now found himself left with only two or three hundred horsemen among thousands of enemies, and amid a rain of arrows and balls. In this extremity he exclaimed, "It is not Shah 'Alam who fights against me; God has abandoned me, and fortune has turned against me." He had an infant son with him in his howda, whom he endeavoured to shield from the balls and arrows. That brave young Prince desired to show the valour of his race, but his father forbade him, and tried still more to protect him. Two or three drivers fell wounded from the elephant, and the animal itself was pierced with many wounds, and became impatient. Death was threatening, and A'zam Shah felt that his foot was in the stirrup for his last journey, but he bravely got out of the howda, and endeavoured to control the elephant and drive him forward, but he was unable. The sun of his life was near its setting, an arrow struck him in the forehead and ended his existence. Rustam 'Ali Khan, who had got near to the elephant, hearing what had happened, mounted the animal, and cut off the head of the Prince with his pitiless sword. He carried it to the army of Shah 'Alam, and the shouts of victory rose high. ... When Shah 'Alam saw the gory head of his brother, he looked fiercely at that dog Rustam Ali Khan, and burst into tears.

All the four princes, Khan-khanan and his sons, and the other amirs, came to congratulate the victor. The jewels and *ashrafis* which were in the howda of A'zam Shah were plundered; all else, tents, elephants, guns and equipments were secured. Shah 'Alam caused a small tent to be pitched, in which he offered up his thanks for the victory. He then had the sons of A'zam Shah brought to his presence, the eldest son and the Princes Bedar-dil and Sa'id Bakht. He received them most kindly, embraced them, and stroked their heads with paternal gentleness. He promised them

safety and every attention and care, and he did his best to console and comfort the ladies. He embraced Khan-khanan, and avowed that all the success was owing to his exertions and devotion. Lastly, he ordered the corpses of A'zam Shah, Bedar Bakht, and his brother to be properly tended, and to be carried for interment near the tomb of the Emperor Humayun.

Next day Shah 'Alam went to visit Khan-khanan, and raised him to the highest rank, with the title of *Khan-khanan Bahadur Zafar Jang* and *Yar-i wafadar* (faithful friend). He presented him with a *kror* of rupees in cash and goods, a larger bounty than had ever been bestowed on any individual since the rise of the House of Timur. His *mansab* was increased to 7,000 and 7,000 horse, five thousand being *do-aspas* and *sih-aspas*. He also received two *krors* of *dams* as *in'am*, and he was confirmed in the office of wazir. Of the ten *lacs* of rupees which he offered as *peshkash*, one was accepted. Na'im Khan, his eldest son, received the title of Khan-zaman Bahadur, with an increase to 5,000 and 5,000 horse, and a robe of the third rank. The younger son was entitled Khana-zad Khan Bahadur, and his *mansab* was increased to 4,000 and 3,000 horse. Each of the four royal Princes had his *mansab* increased to 30,000 and 20,000 horse. [*Many other honours and rewards.*]

When the news of the victory and of the death of A'zam Shah reached Gwalior, weeping and wailing arose from every tent. *Amiru-l umara* Asad Khan went to wait upon Zebu-n Nissa Begam, eldest sister of A'zam Shah, to offer his condolences to her and the other ladies. In concert with 'Inayatu-llah Khan diwan, he placed seals upon the jewels, the treasure and other effects and then prepared to set off to the presence of Bahadur Shah. A gracious *farman* promising favour and safety arrived, summoning to the presence *Amiru-l umara* Asad Khan, Zu-l fikar Khan Nusrat Jang and Hamidu-d din Khan, who had repaired to Gwalior (before the battle), and they were to bring with them the ladies of the late Prince with their establishments. *Amiru-l umara* accompanied the retinue of Nawab Kudsiya Zebu-n Nissa, who was clothed in mourning garments. When they

arrived, the Begam did not go through the form of offering congratulations, in consequence of her being in mourning, and this vexed the King. But he treated her with great kindness and indulgence, doubled her annual allowance, and gave her the title of Padshah Begam. All the other ladies of A'zam Shah were treated with great sympathy and liberality and were ordered to accompany Padshah Begam to the capital.

Promotions, Appointments, and other Arrangements

(Text, vol. ii, p. 599.) To Asad Khan was given the title *Nizamu-l Mulk A'safu-d daula.* He was also made *vakil-i mutlak,* as the office was called in former reigns, and the appointment and removal of *wazirs* and other officials used to be in this grandee's hands. He was also presented with four stallions, five horses with accoutrements, etc., etc., and was allowed the privilege of having his drums beaten in the royal presence. Some envious spirits privately observed that the Amiru-l umara had been the close friend and trusted adviser of A'zam Shah; but the Emperor answered that if his own sons had been in the Dakhin, the exigencies of the position would have compelled them to join their uncle. Zu-l fikar Khan's *mansab* was increased to 7,000 and 7,000 horse. He received the title of *Samsamu-d daula Amiru-l Bahadur Nusrat Jang,* and was reinstated in his office of Mir-bakhshi. [*Other promotions and rewards.*] In short, all the adherents, great and small, of the King and Princes, received *lacs* of rupees in *in'am,* fourfold and sixfold augmentations of their *mansabs* and presents of jewels and elephants.

Although the office of *wazir* had been given to Khan-khanan, it was deemed expedient, in order to conciliate Asad Khan *Amiru-l umara* and Zu-l fikar Khan, to elevate Asad Khan to the position of wazir. To outward appearance he was raised to this dignity; but whenever any ministerial business of importance arose, Khan-khanan did not communicate it to Asafu-d daula. On the day that Asafu-d daula acted as diwan, it became incumbent upon Khan-khanan to wait upon him as other ministers did, and to

obtain his signature to documents; but this was disagreeable to him. Asafu-d daula was desirous of rest, for his continual activity during the reign of Aurangzeb had allowed him little enjoyment of life. So it was arranged that Samsamu-d daula should act as deputy for his father in the office of minister, and that his father should take charge of Nawab Padshah Begam, and repair to the capital to pass his old age in comfort. With the exception that the seal of Asafu-d daula was placed upon revenue and civil *parwanas* and *sanads*, he had no part in the administration of the government.

An order was issued that the late Emperor Aurangzeb should be styled *Khuld-makan.*

Khan-khanan discharged his duties as *wazir* with repute, integrity and impartiality, and he exerted himself so earnestly in the performance of his work, that when he took his seat, he appointed officers to see that no petitions or letters of the day before remained unnoticed. One of the most acceptable and beneficial of the measures of Khan-khanan was the relief he afforded in that oppressive grievance, the feed of the cattle of the *mansabdars*. To explain this matter briefly, it may be said that in the late reign, the *akhta-begis* and other rapacious officials had so contrived that the responsibility of providing food for the cattle had been fixed on the *mansabdars*. Notwithstanding the *mansabdars*, through the smallness of their surplus rents, had been for a long time in want of a loaf for supper,[1] (the officials), after great perseverance and pressure, got something out of the small total of (each) *jagir*. Although a *jagir* might be lying waste, and its total income would not suffice for a half or a third of the expense of the animals, and leave a little to supply the necessaries of life to the holder's wife and family, the officials imprisoned his *vakils*, and with violence and insult demanded contributions for the food of the cattle. The *vakils* complained of this tyranny

[1] Here comes a parenthetical sentence : *ki pādshāh khūd dast-khaṭṭ-i yak anār wa sad bimar namūda būdand* which means that "the Emperor (on some representation about this matter) had written (the proverb) : 'There is (but) one pomegranate and a hundred sick men (requiring it)'."—Roebuck's Proverbs, No. 2211.

to the Emperor, but the daroga of the elephant stables and the *akhta begi* made protestations which satisfied His Majesty, so that the complaints met with no redress. This oppression reached such a height that the *vakils* resigned their offices. In the present reign Khan-khanan made an arrangement by which *tankhwah* (cash) was to be given to the *mansabdars* of *jagirs*. Money sufficient for the keep of the animals being deducted from the total rent (of the *jagirs*), the balance remaining was to be paid in cash. By these means the grievance of the animal's keep was entirely removed from the *mansabdars* and the *vakils*. Indeed it may be said that an order was given remitting the contributions for the food of the animals.[1] Khan-khanan had a strong partiality for Sufi-ism, and had a knowledge of science. He wrote a book called *Al Hamiya*, upon the spiritual life and Sufi mysticism, which in the opinion of controversialists passes beyond the bounds of the Law upon some points.

Orders were given that in the coinage of rupees and *ashrafis* no verse should be used, but that the name "Shah 'Alam Bahadur Shah" and the name of the (mint) city should be impressed in prose. It was also ordered that in the *khutba* the name "Shah 'Alam" should be embellished by the title "Saiyid." It appears from history that from the rise of the House of Timur—nay, even from the foundation of the Ghori dynasty—no one of the monarchs had ever used the title of Saiyid in the *khutba*, or in his pedigree, with the exception of Khizr Khan. He (Khizr Khan) was by origin and by the names of his ancestors an Afghan, as is apparent by the title Malik; but after he came to the throne of Dehli, the historians of his reign, upon very weak proofs, applied to him in a loose way the title of Saiyid.

Ajit Singh and other Rajputs

(Text, vol. ii, p. 605.) Towards the end of the year 1119 the Emperor marched from Agra, with the intention of chastising the Rajputs in the vicinity of Udipur and Jodpur.

[1] Parts of this passage are involved and the meaning is not always clear.

From the reports of the news-writers of the province of Ajmir, and the *parganas* around Jodpur, the following matters became known to His Majesty. Raja Ajit Singh, who was called the son of Raja Jaswant, had been brought up by the wiles of Durga Das, and other evil-disposed infidels, as the son of the deceased Raja. He had cast off his allegiance to the late Emperor, and done many improper things. After the death of Aurangzeb he again showed his disobedience and rebellion by oppressing Musulmans, forbidding the killing of cows, preventing the summons to prayer, razing the mosques which had been built after the destruction of the idol-temples in the late reign, and repairing and building anew idol-temples. He warmly supported and assisted the army of the Rana of Udipur, and was closely allied with Raja Jai Singh, whose son-in-law he was. He had carried his disaffection so far that he had not attended at Court since the accession. On the 8th Shaban the Emperor marched to punish this rebel and his tribe, by way of Amber, the native land of Jai Singh, between Ajmir and Chitor....

Ajit Singh and his allied Rajas knew that submission and obedience alone could save them and their families and property; so he addressed himself to Khan-khanan and his son Khan-zaman, expressing his sorrow, humility, and obedience; and he sent a message humbly asking that Khan-zaman and the *Kaziu-l Kuzat* might come into Jodpur, to rebuild the mosques, destroy the idol-temples, enforce the provisions of the law about the summons to prayer and the killing of cows, to appoint magistrates and to commission officers to collect the *Jizya*. His submission was graciously accepted, and his requests granted.[1] Officers of justice, *kazis*, *muftis*, *imams*, and *muazzins* (criers to prayer) were appointed in Jodpur and other towns in the country. Ajit Singh and Jai Singh, with the concurrence of Durga Das, who was the very soul of the opposition, came to Court in hope of receiving pardon for their offences, and each was honoured with the gift of a robe, elephant, etc.

[1] The *Tazkira-i Chaghatai* adds that Amar Singh, Rana of Udipur, sent a present of jewels (in token of submission).

Second Year of the Reign, 1119 A.H. (A.D. 1707-8)

Prince Muhammad Kam Bakhsh

(Text, vol. ii, p. 608.) A kind and admonitory letter was addressed by the Emperor to his brother Prince Muhammad Kam Bakhsh to the following effect: "Our father entrusted you with the government of the suba of Bijapur; we now relinquish to you the government of the two subas of Bijapur and Haidarabad with all their subjects and belongings, upon the condition, according to the old rule of the Dakhin, that the coins shall be struck and the *khutba* read in our name. The tribute which has hitherto been paid by governors of these two provinces we remit."

A few words shall now be written about Prince Muhammad Kam Bakhsh and his proceedings. [*Cruel punishments and execution of Ahsan Khan and others.*] In answer to the kind letter which Kam Bakhsh received from his brother Bahadur Shah, he wrote a provoking reply.[1] Kam Bakhsh arrived at Burhanpur at the beginning of Jumada-l awwal, where he was detained some time by the swollen state of the Tapti. Marching from thence by way of Malkapur and Nander, he had got within two or three marches of Haidarabad at the end of Shawwal. His whole army had dwindled away through his violent blood-thirsty madness; five or six hundred horse were all that remained with him and they were sorely distressed by harsh treatment, hunger, and sight of bloodshed. Bahadur Shah had with him nearly 8,000 horse. Kam Bakhsh advanced until he was only two or three *kos* from Haidarabad. His small force now consisted only of a few bold companions who would not leave him and three or four hundred horse. The orders given to Bahadur Shah's commanders were that they were not to bring on a fight, but to surround Kam Bakhsh so that he should not be killed, and the blood of Musulmans should not be spilt. Khan-khanan and Zu-l fikar Khan, with their

[1] The *Tazkira-i Chaghatai* gives both letters at length.

respective forces, were about a cannon-shot distant from the enemy, expecting the order to attack. As they had been ordered not to begin the battle, they waited until noon, but sent repeated messages to the Emperor for leave to begin. They were told that he was taking his usual nap. Whether it were so, or whether this evasion was connived at, the generals received no reply.

Zu-l fikar Khan had an old-standing aversion to Kam Bakhsh, and repeatedly urged Khan-khanan to attack. Kam Bakhsh, with a heart full of fear and hope, stood firm, expecting the onslaught. At length Zu-l fikar Khan, awaiting no longer the consent of the Emperor or the co-operation of Khan-khanan, advanced to the attack. This movement compelled Khan-khanan to advance also with his fourteen or fifteen thousand horse. Two or three of the companions of Kam Bakhsh were killed or wounded, but he stood firm, fighting desperately. He received three or four wounds, but he used his bow so well in the face of three thousand foes, that a terror fell upon them, and they were near upon taking flight. He emptied two quivers and wounded and brought many men down; but loss of blood from his many wounds prevailed; he lost his strength, but the enemy surrounded his elephant and made him prisoner. His youngest son, who was on the same elephant, was also made prisoner after receiving four or five severe wounds. Muhiu-s Sunnat, the eldest son, fought bravely. The drivers and others on his elephant fell wounded one after the other. He then drove the animal himself, but fell in the howda wounded with balls and arrows. The elephant ran off into the country, but was caught by a party of Mahrattas, and the Prince became a prisoner. All the men of Kam Bakhsh who fought near his elephant were killed, and were found to be sixty-two in number.

Kam Bakhsh and his two sons, all desperately wounded, were taken to Khuld-manzil, and placed near the royal tent. European and Greek surgeons were appointed to attend them. Kam Bakhsh rejected all treatment, and refused to take the broth prepared for his food. In the

evening the King went to see his brother. He sat down by his side, and took the cloak from his own back, and covered him who lay dejected and despairing, fallen from throne and fortune. He showed him the greatest kindness, asked him about his state, and said, "I never wished to see you in this condition." Kam Bakhsh replied, "Neither did I wish that one of the race of Timur should be made prisoner with the imputation of cowardice and want of spirit." The King gave him two or three spoonfuls of broth with his own hands, and then departed with his eyes full of tears. Three or four watches afterwards, Kam Bakhsh and one of his sons named Firozmand died.[1] Both corpses were sent to Dehli, to be interred near the tomb of Humayun.

Nima[2] *Sindhia. The Mahrattas*

(Text, vol. ii, p. 625.) Nima Sindhia had been one of the most renowned of all the "*Na-sardars*" (*i.e., Mahratta sardars*), and one of the greatest leaders of the accursed armies of the Dakhin. His plundering and destructive raids had extended as far as the province of Malwa. Now, under the patronage and advice of Zu-l fikar Khan, he had turned the face of repentance to the Imperial throne, with the hope of forgiveness. He had taken part in the battle against Kam Bakhsh, and having thus won the Imperial favour, he and his sons and relations had received the honour of being presented to His Majesty. He received a *mansab* of 7,000 and 5,000 horse, two *lacs* of rupees, a robe, an elephant, a drum, etc. His sons and grandsons each received *mansabs* of 5,000 and 4,000—altogether 40,000 and 25,000 horse.

Raja Sahu's vakil was introduced by Zu-l fikar Khan Bahadur Nusrat Jang, who was *subadar* of the whole

[1] According to the *Tazkira-i Chaghatai*, the names of three sons were Sultan Muhiu-s Sunnat, Firozmand, and Bariku-llah, and it was the latter who died.

[2] The Text calls him "Niba," but a variant reading (p. 621) gives "Nima" and this agrees with Grant Duff, who calls him "Neemajee-Sindia."

Dakhin, and held as well the office of *Mir-bakhshi*. The vakil presented an application for a *farman* conferring on Sahu the *sar-deshmukhi* and the *chauth* of the six *subas* of the Dakhin, on condition of restoring prosperity to the ruined land. Jamlatu-l Mulk Mun'im Khan Khan-khanan had separated the *suba* of Burhanpur and half the *suba* of Birar (which in the revenue records and in common language is called Birar Payin-ghat) from the six *subas* of the Dakhin, in accordance with the arrangement which obtained under the Faruki dynasty and under the Emperor Akbar; and he had included these among the *subas* dependent on Dehli, which by universal accord is the capital (*asl*) of Hindustan. He was desirous that the civil and revenue affairs (of these *subas*) and the appointment and dismissal of officers should be under the direction of his eldest son Mahabat Khan. This caused a disagreement between Zu-l fikar Khan and Mun'im Khan, for the *Bakhshiu-l Mulk* was not at all desirous that any one else should have any authority or control in the civil and revenue affairs of the Dakhin.

Tara Bai was widow of Ram Raja, that is, she was the widow of the uncle of Raja Sahu, and Ram Raja left two sons by her of tender years. In the reign of the late Emperor Aurangzeb, after a warfare of ten years, she sued for peace, on condition of being allowed to levy nine rupees per cent. as *sar-deshmukhi*. As has been stated in the proper place, Aurangzeb declined for various reasons. Now, by the intervention of Jamlatu-l Mulk, she asked for a *farman* in the name of her son, granting the nine rupees of the *sar-deshmukhi*, without any reference to the *chauth*,[1] for which he would suppress other insurgents and restore order in the country. Samsamu-d daula Zu-l fikar Khan took the side of Raja Sahu, and a great contention upon the matter arose between the two ministers. The King, in his extreme good nature, had resolved in his heart that he would not reject the petition of any one, whether of low or high degree. The complainants and defendants made their statements to His Majesty, and although they

[1] *ki pāy chauth dar miyan nabāshad.*

differed as much as morning and evening, each was accepted, and an order of consent was given. So in this matter of the *sar-deshmukhi, farmans* were directed to be given in compliance with the requests both of Mun'im Khan and Zu-l fikar Khan; but in consequence of the quarrel between these two nobles, the orders about the *sar-deshmukhi* remained inoperative.

Titles. Character of Bahadur Shah

(Vol. ii, p. 627.) Since the rise of the House of Timur it had been the rule that one and the same title should not be given to two persons. But now the ugly practice arose of giving the same title to two or more persons, and in the same way the grants of *mansabs, naubat* and *nakara*, elephants, the *jigha* and *sar-pech* were no longer regulated by the rank and dignity of the recipient.

For generosity, munificence, boundless good nature, extenuation of faults, and forgiveness of offences, very few monarchs have been found equal to Bahadur Shah in the histories of past times, and especially in the race of Timur. But though he had no vice in his character, such complacency and such negligence were exhibited in the protection of the State and in the government and management of the country, that witty sarcastic people found the date of his accession in the words, *Shah-i be-Khabr*, "Heedless King." He often sat up all night, and used to sleep to the middle of the day; so in marching his people had to suffer great inconvenience; for many poor fellows were unable to find their tents in dark nights when the army and baggage were scattered about, and had to pass the night in front of the royal tent, or the drum room or offices or the *bazars*.

The Freebooter Pap Rai[1]

(Text, vol. ii, p. 630.) The *kazi* of Warangal and many of the chief men of that country came to Court with grievous complaints of a man named Pap Rai. This

[1] The story of this man is told at great length, and a summary of it is here given, as an illustration of the condition of the Dakhin at this time.

infamous man was by birth a toddy-seller. He had a sister, a widow possessing some property. He went to see her, and after four or five days' stay with her, he cast his eyes upon her money and effects. He got some fellows to join him. He then tortured his sister most cruelly, burnt her limbs, and took from her all her money and jewels. He enlisted a lot of footmen, and having made himself a stronghold on the top of a little hill, he began to rob travellers and pillage the neighbourhood.

The *faujdars* and *zamindars* resolved to make him prisoner; but he got intelligence of their intention, and fled to Venkat Rao, *Zamindar* of Kolas, and entered his service. After a little while he joined another man in the same service, and they began to plunder on their own account. Venkat Rao seized them and kept them in rigorous confinement. But the Rao's son fell ill, and his wife, as a means of saving her son's life, obtained the release of all the Rao's prisoners. Pap Rai went to the village of Shahpur, in the *pargana* of Narganda, *sarkar* of Bhungir,[1] and there joined another noted ruffian named Sarwa. He gathered round him a party of men, and raised a mud fort in a rocky position at Shahpur, which is a place of considerable strength. He then plundered all the country round.

The *faujdar* of *pargana* Kulpak, which is seven or eight *kos* from Shahpur, sent Kasim Khan Afghan with a suitable force to apprehend him. Pap Rai from time to time confronted this force, and, seizing his opportunity, attacked one of the villages of Kulpak; but Kasim Khan fell upon him, killed a number of his men, and put him to flight. He proceeded to another hill of refuge, and Kasim Khan, while following him, was killed by a musket-ball, and his force was then driven back. Another force besieged him and Sarwa in Shahpur for two months, but he escaped. The fort of Shahpur was then destroyed; but after the withdrawal of the forces, Pap Rai and Sarwa returned, and instead of the old mud fort, built

[1] Bhungir lies upon a line drawn from Warangal to Haidarabad, and the other places named are north of that line.

a new one of stone and *chunam*, which they furnished with cannon and implements of war.

Pap Rai now extended his operations, and plundered all the country from fifteen to twenty *kos* round. He was attacked by Pur Dil Khan, who, after mortally wounding Sarwa, was himself killed. Pap Rai increased his forces and materials of war, and now turned his efforts to the reduction of forts. Parties were frequently sent out against him, and he was besieged for two months in Shahpur, but without result. In Muharram, 1120, he attacked and plundered the flourishing town of Warangal, and killed from twelve to thirteen thousand men, women and children. He next attacked and was near upon capturing the fort of Bhungir, sixteen *kos* from Haidarabad, and he plundered the town and *petta*, ... carrying off two or three thousand men and women as prisoners. Afterwards he built another fort near Tarikanda, four *kos* from Shahpur, which he furnished with all requirements and a strong garrison.

His depredations were so great that the King was petitioned to march against him in person. Yusuf Khan was appointed to the *subadari*, and was ordered to suppress this rebel. Before any force was sent against him, he laid siege to the town of Kulpak, eight *kos* from Shahpur. On a force coming up, he was driven with loss to Shahpur. During a short absence from Shahpur, some of his prisoners broke loose and seized upon the fort, ... and he had to return and besiege it, but failed to take it, as a detachment came from Kulpak, and fought him. He then fled to Tarikanda, ... whither he was pursued. After a siege of nine months, many of his men were induced to desert, ... his provisions ran short, ... and the *petta* and part of the works were taken in repeated assaults. He again fled, and his absence did not become known for two days. He went alone to Hasanabad, a place which he had founded two stages from Tarikanda, where he was betrayed. He was wounded, captured and executed. His head was sent to Court, and his limbs were exposed over the gate of Haidarabad.

THIRD YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1120 A.H. (A.D. 1708-9)

The Sikhs

(Text, vol. ii, p. 651.) There is a sect of infidels called *Guru*, more commonly known as *Sikhs*. Their chief, who dresses as a *fakir*, has a fixed residence near Lahore. From old times he has built temples in all the towns and populous places, and has appointed one of his followers to preside in each temple as his deputy. When any one of the sect brought presents or offerings for the *Guru* to the temple, the deputy had to collect them, and, after deducting sufficient for his own food and expenses, his duty was to send the balance faithfully to the *Guru*. This sect consists principally of *Jats* and *Khatris* of the Panjab and of other tribes of infidels. When Aurangzeb got knowledge of these matters, he ordered these deputy *Gurus* to be removed and the temples to be pulled down.

At the time that Bahadur Shah marched towards Haidarabad, Gobind, the chief *Guru* of the sect, came to join him with two or three hundred horsemen bearing spears and some footmen. After two or three months, he died from the wounds of a dagger, and his murderer was not discovered. When the news of his death reached the Panjab, where the bulk of the Sikhs were living, an obscure member of the sect, about the name[1] given to whom there are various statements, gave out that in the course of transmigration, which the Sikhs believe in and call *avatar*, he had taken the place of the murdered Gobind, who had come to life again as a bearded man in his body, for the purpose of taking revenge. This worthless dog, having published this statement, stirred up disaffection in the sect, and raised the standard of rebellion. By jugglery, charms, and sorcery, he pretended to perform miracles before credulous people, and gave himself the name of *Sacha Padshah*, "True King."

He began to plunder in the Panjab and the country about Sihrind, and in the course of three or four months he gathered round him four or five thousand pony (*yabu*) riders and seven or eight thousand motley footmen. His

[1] He is known by the name of "Banda."

numbers daily increased, and much plunder fell into his hands, until he had eighteen or nineteen thousand men under arms, and carried on a predatory and cruel warfare. He fought with two or three *faujdars* who went out to punish him, defeated them and killed them. In many villages which he plundered he appointed *thanadars* and *tahsildars* to collect the revenues of the neighbourhood for him, and matters came to such a pass that with three or four thousand infidels who were leagued with him, he wrote orders to the Imperial officials and the managers of the *jagirdars*, calling upon them to submit to him, and to relinquish their posts.

Wazir Khan, *Faujdar* of Sihrind, had held the charge of the civil and revenue affairs of that district for a long time. He had some troops and treasure, and had obtained a reputation by his firm management. When he heard how districts in his charge had been ravaged and plundered, he set about collecting troops and warlike equipments. He joined with him four or five *faujdars* and *zamindars* of name, prepared lead and gunpowder, mustered five or six thousand horse and seven or eight thousand musketeers (*barkandaz*) and archers, and with these and some artillery and elephants he marched out to give battle and to punish that perverse sect. After marching three or four *kos*, he came up with the enemy.

The accursed wretches had got warning of the movement of Wazir Khan, and advanced to meet him. All his followers kept shouting "*Sacha Padshah*" and "*Fath daras.*" The battle began, and great bravery was shown on both sides, but especially by the confederate sectarians. They advanced sword in hand against the elephants, and brought two of them down. Many Musulmans found martyrdom, and many of the infidels went to the sink of perdition. The Musulman forces were hardly able to endure the repeated attacks of the infidels, when a musket-ball made a martyr of Wazir Khan, and they were put to flight. Money and baggage, horses and elephants, fell into the hands of the infidels, and not a man of the army of Islam escaped with more than his life and the clothes he

stood in. Horsemen and footmen in great numbers fell under the swords of the infidels, who pursued them as far as Sihrind.

Sihrind was an opulent town, with wealthy merchants, bankers, and tradesmen, men of money, and gentlemen of every class; and there were especially learned and religious men in great numbers residing there. No one found the opportunity of saving his life, or wealth, or family. When they heard of the death of Wazir Khan, and the rout of his army, they were seized with panic. They were shut up in the town, and for one or two days made some ineffectual resistance, but were obliged to bow to fate. The evil dogs fell to plundering, murdering, and making prisoners of the children and families of high and low, and carried on their atrocities for three or four days with such violence that they tore open the wombs of pregnant women, dashed every living child upon the ground, set fire to the houses, and involved rich and poor in one common ruin. Wherever they found a mosque, a tomb, or a gravestone of a respected Musulman, they broke it to pieces, dug it up, and made no sin of scattering the bones of the dead. When they had done with the pillage of Sihrind, they appointed officers to collect the rents and taxes in all the dependent districts.

Accounts of the calamity which had fallen upon Sihrind reached 'Ali Muhammad Khan, *Faujdar* of Saharanpur, and he was terror-struck. Although a number of gentlemen and Afghans gathered round him and urged him to act boldly and to put his fortifications in a state of defence, it was of no avail; he went off to Dehli with his property and family. The men of the town assembled, and, moved by one spirit, they threw up breast works all round. When the villainous foe arrived, they made a manful resistance, and fighting under the protection of their houses, they kept up such a discharge of arrows and balls, that they sent many of their assailants to hell. Many men of noble and respectable families fell fighting bravely, and obtained the honour of martyrdom. The property and the families of numbers of the inhabitants fell into the hands

of the enemy, and numerous women, seeing that their honour was at stake, and captivity before them, threw themselves into wells. A party of brave gentlemen collected their wives and families in one spot, and kept up such a manful resistance that they saved the lives, the property, and the honour of their families.

After a large booty of money, jewels, and goods of Sarangpur had fallen into the hands of the enemy, they took measures to secure the surrounding country, and they sent severe orders to Jalal Khan, *Faujdar* of Jalalabad, who had founded the town and built the fort, and was famed for his boldness and valour throughout the country. When the letter of the accursed wretches reached him, he ordered the bearers to be exposed to derision and turned out of the place. He set his defences in order, collected materials of war, and did his best to protect the name and honour of those around him, and to get together a force sufficient to oppose the infidels. Intelligence was brought in that the enemy were only three or four *kos* distant, and they had attacked and surrounded two villages dependent on Jalalabad, the forts and houses of which were full of property belonging to merchants.

Jalal Khan sent out three or four hundred Afghan horse, and nearly a thousand musketeers and archers, under the command of Ghulam Muhammad Khan, his own grandson, and Hizbar Khan, to relieve the besieged places and drive off the infidels. Their arrival greatly encouraged the people who were assailed. Four or five hundred brave musketeers and bowmen and numbers of peasants, armed with all sorts of weapons, and with slings, came forward boldly to oppose the enemy, and the battle grew warm. Although the enemy fought with great courage and daring, and Hizbar Khan with a great many Musulmans and peasants were killed, the repeated attacks of the Afghans and other Musulmans of name and station routed the enemy, and they fled, after a great number had been slain. Several fights afterwards took place between Jalal Khan, and the infidels received two or three defeats; but they still persevered with the investment of Jalalabad.

At length seventy or eighty thousand men swarmed together from all parts like ants and locusts. They brought with them two or three hundred movable *morchals* made of planks, on which they had placed wheels as upon carts, and with them surrounded Jalalabad as with a ring. It is impossible to relate in full all the brave deeds done by the Afghans in their conflicts with the enemy. The assailants advanced their *morchals* to the foot of the wall, when they discharged arrows, musket-balls, and stones, and raising their cry of "*Fath daras,*" they strove in the most daring way, with four or five hundred pickaxes and other implements, to undermine the wall, to pass over it by ladders, and to burn the gate. The Afghans threw open the gate, and went out with their drawn swords in their hands, and shields over their heads, and in every attack killed and wounded a hundred or two of the infidels. Many Musulmans also fell. Attacks were also made upon the enemy at night. For twenty days and nights the besieged could get neither food nor rest. At length the infidels, having lost many thousand men and gained no advantage, raised the siege. They went off to reduce Sultanpur and the *parganas* of the Jalandhar Doab. They sent a letter to Shams Khan, the *Faujdar*, calling upon him to submit, to carry out certain instructions, and to come to meet them with his treasure.

Shams Khan, with four or five thousand horse and thirty thousand foot, armed with matchlocks, bows and all kinds of weapons, which they had possessed for a long time or newly acquired, went forth accompanied by the *zamindars*. Gentlemen of every tribe, peasants, and mechanics, principally weavers, came forth boldly to stake their lives and property in resisting the infidels. They pledged themselves to support each other, and contributed their money for the general good. More than a hundred thousand men so assembled, and went forth from Sultanpur with great display. The infidels, on hearing of these bold proceedings of Shams Khan, and of his coming forth with such an army and implements of war, moved with their whole force, amounting to seventy or eighty thousand

horse and foot. They had with them the guns they had brought from Sihrind, their plank constructions, bags full of sand for making lines, and lead and gunpowder. Plundering everywhere as they went, they came to Rahun,[1] seven *kos* from Sultanpur. There they had halted, and took post by a brick-kiln, all the bricks of which they used for making a sort of fort, and having thrown up lines all round, they made ready for battle. They sent out patrols in all directions, and they wrote threatening orders to the *chaudharis* and *kanungos* calling upon them to submit.

Shams Khan had many thousands of brave Musulmans on his right hand and his left, all animated with desire for a holy war and hope of martyrdom, who encouraged each other and said, "If Shams Khan is defeated and killed, our lives and property and families are all lost." Vying with and inspiriting each other, they advanced boldly to within cannon-shot of the enemy. At the close of the first watch of the day, the battle began with a discharge of guns and muskets. Ten or twelve thousand balls and stones from slings came rattling like hail upon the forces of Islam, but by God's mercy produced no great effect, and no man of note was killed. Shams Khan forbade haste and a useless discharge of ammunition. He went steadily forward, and after a volley or two from the infidels, he sent forward an elephant supported by forty or fifty thousand Musulmans who had come together from all parts. They raised their war-cry, charged the infidels, and killed and wounded great numbers.

The infidels, after fruitless struggles, were overpowered, and being discouraged, they took refuge in the fort of Rahun, of which they had obtained possession before the battle. This was invested, and a general fire of muskets and rockets began. The garrison of the fort of Rahun had left in it their warlike stores and provisions when they evacuated it, and of these the infidels took possession and stood firm in the fort. They were invested for some days; but at night parties of them came out, and attacked the

[1] In the Jalandhar Doab.

forces of Islam, killing men and horses. Both sides were in difficulty, but especially the enemy. They evacuated the fort at night and fled. Shams Khan pursued them for some *kos*, and took from them a gun and some baggage, camels and bullocks, with which he returned to Sultanpur.

Next day about a thousand of the enemy attacked the garrison which Shams Khan had placed in Rahun, drove them out and occupied it themselves. The enemy then proceeded to plunder the neighbourhood of Lahore, and great alarm was felt in that city and all around. Islam Khan, the Prince's *diwan*, and *naib* of the *suba* of Lahore, in concert with Kazim Khan, the royal *diwan*, and other officials, after setting in order the fortifications of the city, went out with a large muster of Musulmans and Hindus, and encamped four or five *kos* from the city, where he busied himself in cutting off the patrolling parties of the enemy. The people in Lahore were safe from danger to life and property, but the outskirts up to the garden of Shalimar, which is situated two *kos* from the city, were very much ravaged.

For eight or nine months, and from two or three days' march of Dehli to the environs of Lahore, all the towns and places of note were pillaged by these unclean wretches, and trodden underfoot and destroyed. Men in countless numbers were slain, the whole country was wasted, and mosques and tombs were razed. After leaving Lahore, they returned to the towns and villages of Shadhura and Karnal, the *faujdar* of which place was slain after resisting to the best of his ability. Now especially great havoc was made. A hundred or two hundred Hindus and Musulmans who had been made prisoners were made to sit down in one place and were slaughtered. These infidels had set up a new rule, and had forbidden the shaving of the hair of the head and beard. Many of the ill-disposed low caste Hindus joined themselves to them, and placing their lives at the disposal of these evil-minded people, they found their own advantage in professing belief and obedience, and they were very active in persecuting and killing other castes of Hindus.

The revolt and the ravages of this perverse sect were brought under the notice of His Majesty, and greatly troubled him; but he did not deem its suppression so urgent as the putting down of the *Rajput* rebellion, so the royal armies were not sent against them at present. Giving the *Rajput* difficulty his first attention, the royal army marched from Ujjain towards the homes of the *Rajputs*.

The Rajputs

(Vol. ii, p. 661.) The march of the royal army to lay waste the land of the *Rajputs* awakened these rebellious people to a sense of their danger. They sent representatives to make friends of Khan-khanan Mu'azzam Khan and Mahabat Khan, and through their intervention to obtain peace. The Emperor was in some points unwilling to concede this; but the troubles near Lahore and Dehli disturbed him, and he yielded to the representations of the *vakils* for the sake of being at liberty to punish these infidel rebels. It was settled that Raja Jai Singh, Raja Ajit Singh, and *vakils* of the Rana and other *Rajputs* should make their homage, put on the robes presented to them, and accompany the royal train. All the *Rajputs* of name and station, forming a body of thirty or forty thousand horse, passed in review; they tied their hands with handkerchiefs, and paid homage in front of the cavalcade. Robes, horses, and elephants were then distributed.

Fourth Year of the Reign, 1121 A.H. (A.D. 1709-10)

(Vol. ii, p. 663.) An order was given (near the end of the previous year of the reign) that the word *wasi* (heir) should be inserted among the attributes of the Khalif 'Ali in the *khutba*.[1] When this order reached Lahore, Jan Muhammad and Haji Yar Muhammad, the most eminent learned men in that city, in accord with many other good and learned men, went in a crowd to the houses of the *Kazi* and the *Sadr*,

[1] This was a Shi'a innovation, and signified that 'Ali came next in succession after the Prophet. According to the *Siyaru-l Muta-akhkhirin*, the formula was, "And 'Ali is the saint of God and the heir of the Prophet of God."—Briggs, p. 26.

to forbid the reading of the word *wasi* in the *khutba*. In the same way the learned men and elders of Agra, supported by a large number of Musulmans, raised a disturbance and forbade the reading of the *khutba* in the form directed. Similar reports were sent by the news-writers of other cities. From Ahmadabad it was reported that a party of *Sunnis* with a crowd killed the *khatib*[1] of the chief mosque, who had read the word *wasi* in the *khutba*.

After the order for the insertion of the word *wasi* in the *khutba* reached Ahmadabad, the *Sadr* wrote to Firoz Jang, the *subadar*, for official directions as to the course he was to pursue, and in reply received an autograph letter, directing him to act in obedience to the orders of the *Khalifa* (the Emperor). On the following Friday the *khatib* used the word *wasi* in the *khutba*. Some men of the Panjab and some notables of Turan came noisily forward, and harshly addressing the *khatib*, said, "We excuse you this Friday for using the word, but next Friday you must not pronounce it." He replied that he would act in obedience to the orders of the Emperor, the *Nazim* (viceroy), and the *Sadr*. On the following Friday, when the *khatib* ascended the pulpit, one of the Mughals said to him, "You must not use the word *wasi*." The doomed *khatib* would not be restrained; but the moment the word *wasi* fell from his tongue, a Panjabi rose, seized him by his skirt, dragged him from the top of the pulpit, and treated him with harsh scorn. A Turani Mughal jumped up, drew his knife, stuck it into the stomach of the *khatib*, and threw him down under the pulpit. A general disturbance followed, and all the people started up. The *khatib*, half dead, was dragged out into the forecourt of the mosque, and there he received so many stabs from daggers and blows from slippers that he died ignominiously. For a night and a day his heirs had not the courage to remove his corpse and bury it. On the second day the parents of the deceased petitioned Firoz Jang for permission to inter him. He gave them some rupees of government money and his authority for the burial.

[1] The *khatib* is the officiating minister who pronounces the *khutba*.

Mahratta Attack on Burhanpur

(Text, vol. ii, p. 666.) A Mahratta woman named Tulasi Bai, with fifteen or sixteen thousand horse, came demanding payment of the *chauth* to the town of Ranwir, seven *kos* from Burhanpur. Having surrounded the *sarai* of Ranwir, in which a great number of travellers and villagers had taken refuge, she sent a message to Mir Ahmad Khan *subadar*, demanding payment of eleven *lacs* as *chauth* to save the town and the men who were besieged in the *sarai*. Mir Ahmad, in his contempt for a female warrior, having got together a force of eight or nine thousand horse, part his own, and part obtained from the *faujdars* of the vicinity, and with all the officials of Burhanpur, marched out of that place on the 9th Muharram.....

The enemy having got intelligence of his approach, left three or four thousand men in charge of their baggage, and marched to meet Mir Ahmad Khan with four or five thousand veteran horse. The remainder of the Mahratta force was sent to invest and plunder the suburbs of Burhanpur. Mir Ahmad Khan was severely wounded in the sharp encounters which he had with the enemy in the course of two or three days; but hearing of the investment of Burhanpur, he turned to succour the besieged. Wherever he went, the enemy hovered round him and kept up a continuous fight. Zafar Khan was wounded fighting bravely, and finding that the enemy's force was increasing, he deemed it necessary for saving his life to take a son of Ahmad Khan with him, and go to the city. The men of his rear guard were nearly all killed, and his remaining men endeavoured to save their lives by flight. Many were made prisoners. Mir Ahmad Khan, who was left alone fighting with the enemy, received several wounds, and fell from his horse; but he dragged himself half dead under a tree, and obtained martyrdom.

The Sikhs

(Vol. ii, p. 669.) The Emperor came near to Dehli, and then sent Muhammad Amin Khan and... with a strong force against the Sikhs. His instructions were to destroy

the *thanas* (military posts) established by the enemy, to re-establish the Imperial posts, and to restore the impoverished people of Shahabad, Mustafa-abad, Shadhura, and other old seats of population, which had been plundered and occupied by the enemy. Forgetful of former defeat, the enemy had resumed his predatory warfare, and was very daring. On the 10th Shawwal, 1121 (5th December, 1709), the royal army was four or five *kos* from Shadhura, and a party was sent forward to select ground for the camp, when the enemy, with thirty or forty thousand horse and countless numbers of foot, shouting their cry of "*Fath daras*," attacked the royal army.

I cannot describe the fight which followed. The enemy in their *fakir* clothing struck terror into the royal troops, and matters were going hard with them, when a party of them dismounted from their elephants and horses, charged the enemy on foot, and put them to flight. The royal commander then went and took post in Shadhura, with the intention of sending out forces to punish and drive off the enemy.... But rain fell for four or five days, and the weather became very cold.... Thousands of soldiers, especially the Dakhinis, who were unaccustomed to the cold of those parts, fell ill, and so many horses died that the stench arising from them became intolerable. The men attributed it to the witchcraft and sorcery of the enemy, and uttered words unfit to be spoken. News also was brought in of the daring attacks made by the enemy on the convoys and detachments of the royal army, in which two or three *faujdars* of repute were killed. Jamlatu-l Mulk Khan-khanan, with one son, and ..., were sent under the command of Prince Rafi'u-sh Shan to repress the enemy.

After repeated battles, in which many men were killed on both sides, the infidels were defeated, and retreated to a fastness in the hills called Lohgarh, which is near the hills belonging to the Barfi Raja (Icy King),[1] and fortified themselves.... The *Guru* of the sect incited and encouraged his followers to action by assuring them that those who should fall fighting bravely on the field of battle would rise

[1] "The Raja of Sirmor is so called."—*Khuldsatu-t Tawarikh.*

in a state of youth to an everlasting existence in a more exalted position.... Continual fighting went on, and numbers fell.... The provisions in their fortress now failed, and the infidels bought what they could from the grain dealers with the royal army, and pulled it up with ropes.... The infidels were in extremity, when one of them, a man of the *Khatri* tribe, and a tobacco-seller by trade, resolved to sacrifice his life for the good of his religion. He dressed himself in the fine garments of the *Guru*, and went and seated himself in the *Guru's* house. Then the *Guru* went forth with his forces, broke through the royal lines, and made off to the mountains of the Barfi Raja.

The royal troops entered the fort, and finding the false *Guru* sitting in state, they made him prisoner, and carried him to Khan-khanan. Great was the rejoicing that followed; the men who took the news to the Emperor received presents, and great commendation was bestowed on Khan-khanan. The prisoner was taken before Khan-khanan, and the truth was discovered—the hawk had flown and an owl had been caught. Khan-khanan was greatly vexed. He severely reprimanded his officers, and ordered them all to dismount and march on foot into the hills of the Barfi Raja. If they caught the *Guru*, they were to take him prisoner alive; if they could not, they were to take the Barfi Raja and bring him to the presence. So the Raja was made prisoner and brought to the royal camp, instead of the *Guru*. Clever smiths were then ordered to make an iron cage. This cage became the lot of Barfi Raja and of that Sikh who so devotedly sacrificed himself for the *Guru;* for they were placed in it, and were sent to the fort of Dehli.

In this sect it is deemed a great sin to shave the hair of the head or beard. Many of the secret adherents of the sect belonging to the castes of Khatri and Jat were employed in service with the army, at the Court, and in public offices. A proclamation was issued requiring Hindus in general to shave off their beards. A great many of them thus had to submit to what they considered the disgrace of being shaved, and for a few days the barbers were very busy. Some men

of name and position committed suicide to save the honour of their beards.

Death of Mun'im Khan, Khan-khanan

(Text, vol. ii, p. 674.) Khan-khanan now fell ill. Since the day he incurred the shame of allowing the real *Guru* to escape, he pined with vexation, and he was attacked with a variety of diseases, which neither Greek nor European physicians could cure, and he died. He was a man inclined to Sufi-ism, and was a friend to the poor. During all the time of his power he gave pain to no one.... But the best intentions are often perverted into wrong deeds. It entered the mind of Khan-khanan that he would build in every city a *sarai*, a mosque, or a monastery, to bear his name. So he wrote to the *subadars* and *diwans* of different places about the purchase of ground and the building of *sarais*, mosques, and colleges. He gave strict injunctions and also sent bills for large sums of money. When his order reached the place, all the officials had regard to his high dignity, and looking upon his order as a mandate from heaven, they directed their attention to the building of the *sarais* in their respective cities. In some places ground fit for the purpose was freely sold by the owners; but it happened in other places that although the officials were desirous of buying suitable land, they could not obtain it with the consent of the owners. Considering only their own authority, and the necessity of satisfying Khan-khanan, the officials forcibly seized upon many houses which had been occupied by the owners and their ancestors for generations, and drove the proprietors out of their hereditary property. Numbers of Musulmans, *Saiyids* and Hindus were thus driven, sighing and cursing, out of their old homes, as it happened at Burhanpur and at Surat....

Upon the death of Khan-khanan there were various opinions as to who should be appointed to his office of *wazir* and the *subadari* of the Dakhin. It was the desire of Prince 'Azimu-sh Shan, who had a leading part in the government of the country, and of Sa'du-llah Khan, the *diwan*, that Zu-l fikar Khan should be appointed *wazir*, and

that the two sons of Khan-khanan should be respectively appointed *Bakhshiu-l Mulk* and *Subadar* of the Dakhin. But Zu-l fikar Khan was unwilling to retire from his position as *Bakhshi* of the Empire and *subadar* of the Dakhin for the sake of being made minister. He said, "When Your Majesty made Khan-khanan your minister, I could make no objection; but now, until my father has been raised to that dignity in the usual way, I cannot presume to accept the office." A long discussion followed. Prince 'Azimu-sh Shan said that Zu-l fikar wanted to have his father appointed minister, and to hold all the other offices himself. The Emperor could not make up his mind to act in opposition to the wishes of any one.... It was finally arranged that until the appointment of a permanent *wazir*, Sa'du-llah Khan, son of 'Inayatu-llah Khan, *diwan* of the person and the *khalisa*, should be appointed to act as deputy, and to carry on affairs in communication with Prince Muhammad 'Azim.

Death of Ghaziu-d din Khan Firoz Jang

(Text, vol. ii, p. 681.) Intelligence now arrived of the death of Ghaziu-d din Khan Bahadur Firoz Jang, *Subadar* of Ahmadabad, in Gujarat. It was also reported that Amanat Khan, *mutasaddi* of the port of Surat, on hearing of his death, and that he, in prospect of death, had ordered his troops and officers to be paid and discharged, hastened to Ahmadabad, and took charge of the treasure and stores. Ghaziu-d din Khan was a man born to victory, and a disciplinarian, who always prevailed over his enemy A nobleman of such rank and power, and yet so gentle and pleasant spoken, has rarely been seen or heard of among the men of Turan. It is said that the government officials took nearly nine *lacs* of rupees out of his treasury...

The Khutba

(Text, vol. ii, p. 681.) The insertion of the word *wasi* in the *khutba* had given great offence to the religious leaders[1] of Lahore, and the order for it had remained a dead letter.

[1] The word used is *fuzala* meaning religious men learned in religious matters.

An order was now given that these religious men should be brought into the royal presence. Haji Yar Muhammad, Muhammad Murad Khan, and three or four other learned men of repute, waited upon His Majesty in the oratory. They were told to be seated. The Emperor, and some learned men whom he had to support him, brought forward proofs that the word *wasi* should be used.... After much disputation Haji Yar Muhammad grew warm in replying to the Emperor, and spoke in a presumptuous, unseemly manner. The Emperor got angry, and asked him if he was not afraid to speak in this bold and unmannerly way in the audience of a king. The Haji replied, "I hope for four things from my bounteous Creator. 1. Acquisition of knowledge. 2. Preservation of the word of God. 3. The Pilgrimage. 4. Martyrdom. Thanks be to God that of his bounty I enjoy the first three. Martyrdom remains, and I am hopeful that by the kindness of the just king I may obtain that." The disputation went on for several days. A great many of the inhabitants of the city, in agreement with a party of Afghans, formed a league of more than a hundred thousand persons, who secretly supported Haji Yar Muhammad. Prince 'Azimu-sh Shan also secretly gave his countenance to this party. At the end of Shawwal, the *Sadr* presented a petition on the subject of the *khutba*, and on this His Majesty wrote with his own hand that the *khutba* should be read in the form used during the reign of Aurangzeb.... After this concession the agitation ceased, but I have heard that Haji Yar Muhammad and two other learned men, whom the Emperor was angry with, were sent to one of the fortresses.

FIFTH YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1122 A.H. (A.D. 1710)

Death of Bahadur Shah

(Text, vol. ii, p. 683.) The festival of His Majesty's accession was celebrated as usual.... About the 20th Muharram, 1123[1] (Feb. 18, A.D. 1711), when the Emperor

[1] The *Tazkira-i Chaghatai* makes it 1124, and gives Bahadur Shah a reign of six years. The *Siyaru-l Muta-akhkhirin* agrees; see Briggs, p. 29. But our author is consistent in his dates, and places the beginning of Farrukh Siyar's reign in 1123

had passed his seventieth lunar year, there was a great change perceptible in him, and in twenty-four hours it was evident that he was marked for death. Prince 'Azimu-sh Shan, who had come to visit his father, when he heard that all the (other) three Princes had suddenly arrived, was so alarmed that he gave no thought to the condition of his father; but, not seeing how to secure himself, he thought it advisable to go away. On the night of the 8th of the month the Emperor died, and was buried near the tomb of Kutbu-d din, four or five *kos* from Dehli. He had reigned four years and two months. At the end of the four years the treasure of thirteen *lacs* of rupees, to which he succeeded, had all been given away. The income of the empire during his reign was insufficient to meet the expenses, and consequently there was great parsimony shown in the government establishments, but especially in the royal household, so much so that money was received every day from the treasure of Prince 'Azimu-sh Shan to keep things going.

Reign of Jahandar Shah, Thirteenth in Descent from Amir Timur Sahib Kiran

(Vol. ii, p. 685.) One week after the death of Bahadur Shah was passed in amicable communications and correspondence between the four brothers (his sons) about the division of the kingdom and property. Zu-l fikar Khan, who really inclined to Jahandar Shah, was the negotiator among them. Some of the friends and associates of Jahan Shah advised him to seize Zu-l fikar Khan when he came to wait upon him, and so to clip the wings of Jahandar Shah. But Jahan Shah had not the courage to take this step. An opportunity was found for firing the arsenal of Jahan Shah, so that all his powder and rockets were exploded. The patrols of each of the four brothers were constantly moving about. While things were in this state, two or three camels loaded with property and stuffs, including perhaps also some bags of *ashrafis*, belonging to Prince 'Azimu-sh Shan,

fell into the hands of the patrols of Jahan Shah, and a contention arose about the division of them.[1]

It was settled that the Dakhin should fall to Jahan Shah; Multan, Thatta, and Kashmir to Rafi'u-sh Shan; and that 'Azimu-sh Shan and Jahandar Shah should divide the remaining *subas* of Hindustan between them. But the agreement about the division of kingdom and treasure all turned into discord, and the partition of the realm was never effected. Mirza Sadru-d din Muhammad Khan Safawi *Bakhshi* deserted Prince 'Azimu-sh Shan, and joined the party of Prince Jahan Shah; but the men of this Prince held the Mirza in such suspicion and distrust, that by constant opposition they got him removed before the war began.

Defeat and Death of 'Azimu-sh Shan

(Vol. ii, p. 686.) Prince Rafi'u-sh Shan having taken offence against Hakimu-l Mulk, son of Hakim Muhsin Khan, for some fault, extorted from him a sum of money and some jewels by torture and ignominious treatment. Having then changed his post, he went near to the village of Budana, three or four *kos* from the city (of Lahore), and there took up a position against Prince 'Azimu-sh Shan. He was protected by the river (on one side), and on the other two sides he ordered intrenchments to be thrown up. 'Azimu-sh Shan held the other side of the river. The three brothers agreed together in opposition to 'Azimu-sh Shan. All three, in accord with each other, mounted their horses, and for four or five days selected positions from which to fire guns and rockets upon the army of 'Azimu-sh Shan. The artillery of 'Azimu-sh Shan replied to that of the three brothers, and many horses and men were killed. About the 20th of Safar the sound of battle rose high on every side, and the fight was begun.... 'Azimu-sh Shan, who was mounted on an elephant, disappeared. Some said he had been killed by a cannon-ball:

[1] Something seems to be wanting here. As it stands, the dispute about the camel-loads appears to have been settled by an agreement as to the division of the Empire.

others, that when he saw his enemies closing around him on all sides, and that there was no escape from the surging armies around him, he cast himself into the waves of the river, and no trace of him was afterwards found. The ruffians of the neighbourhood and the soldiers of all the four princes fell upon Prince 'Azim's treasure, and the vast sums which he had extorted by tyranny and violence in and about the *suba* of Bengal were plundered in the twinkling of an eye, and dispersed into many hands. The three princes caused the drums of victory to be beaten, and then retired to their own dwellings.

Defeat and Death of Jahan Shah

(Vol. ii, p. 687.) Next day many messages passed between Jahandar Shah and Jahan Shah respecting an arrangement, but without result, and the course of affairs tended to the shedding of each other's blood. A battle followed between the armies of the two brothers, and raged from the beginning of the day to the third watch. Farkhanda Akhtar, son of Jahan Shah, and several *amirs* of reputation, were killed. On the side of Jahandar Shah, also, some *amirs* and many men were killed. At length Jahan Shah, mounted on an elephant, made an impetuous charge upon the army of Jahandar, and bore all before him, and matters went so ill with Jahandar that he was parted from Lal Kunwar, his favourite charmer, and had to seek refuge amongst some stacks of bricks. Jahan Shah beat the drums of victory. The letters of the *Rajput sarafs* carried the news of his victory to many parts, and the *khutba* was read with his name in several places. After the victory had been proclaimed, and the soldiers were dispersed in all directions hunting for Jahan Shah, a cannon-ball directed by fate killed him, and his army fled. Zu-l fikar Khan's men hearing of this attacked the elephant of Jahan Shah, and brought it with his corpse, and the corpse of his son Farkhanda, to Jahandar Shah. Khujista Akhtar, another son of Jahan Shah, with a younger brother, were brought prisoners to Jahandar Shah, who then proclaimed his victory.

Death of Rafi'u-sh Shan

(Vol. ii, p. 688.) There remained Prince Rafi'u-sh Shan, with whom also Jahandar proposed friendly negotiations about the division of the kingdom. Having put the Prince off his guard, Jahandar sent a detachment of horse against him by night. Rafi'u-sh Shan fought desperately. He and his two sons threw themselves from their elephant, and fought bravely on foot; but he and several of his companions were killed. Three of his sons remained alive, but were wounded, Muhammad Ibrahim, Rafi'u-d Daula, and Rafi'u-d Darajat.

Jahandar Shah Emperor

(Text, vol. ii, p. 688.) Jahandar, being thus freed from his three brothers, became the monarch of Hindustan. He sent Muhammad Karim and Prince Humayun Bakht, who were only nine or ten years old, the two sons of Jahan Shah, and the sons of Rafi'u-sh Shan, to the fort of Dehli. He ordered Rustam Dil Khan and Allah Wardi Khan, who had been guilty of open and secret actions against him, and Mukhlis Khan, whose offence was not manifest, to be subjected to various punishments and imprisoned. Mahabat Khan and ... other *amirs*, more than twenty in number, were ordered to be confined in chains, and some were put to the rack and other tortures. Their houses also were seized. ... Prince Muhammad Karim, after the death of 'Azimu-sh Shan, fled, and concealed himself in the house of one of the unfortunate men. He took off his ring and sent it for sale, and this led to his capture. He was brought before Jahandar, who was unwilling to kill him; but being persuaded by Zu-l fikar Khan and Shah Kudrat Allah Fakir (may the curse of God be on him !), he put him to death.

In the brief reign of Jahandar, violence and debauchery had full sway. It was a fine time for minstrels and singers and all the tribes of dancers and actors. There seemed to be a likelihood that *kazis* would turn toss-pots, and *muftis* become tipplers. All the brothers and relatives, close and distant, of Lal Kunwar, received *mansabs* of four or five

thousand, presents of elephants, drums and jewels, and were raised to dignity in their tribe. Worthy, talented, and learned men were driven away, and bold impudent wits and tellers of facetious anecdotes gathered round. Among the stories told is the following :

The brother of Lal Kunwar, Khushhal Khan, who had received a *mansab* of 5,000 and 3,000 horse, was named *subadar* of Agra. Zu-l fikar *Bakhshiu-l Mulk* purposely made a delay of several days in the preparation of the *farman* and other deeds. Lal Kunwar complained of this to Jahandar, and he asked Zu-l fikar Khan what was the cause of the delay in the drawing out of the documents. Zu-l fikar Khan was very free-spoken to Jahandar, and he replied, " We courtiers have got into the bad habit of taking bribes, and we cannot do any business unless we get a bribe." Jahandar Shah smiled, and asked what bribe he wanted from Lal Kunwar, and he said a thousand guitar-players and drawing masters (*ustad-i nakkashi*). When the Emperor asked what he could want with them, he replied, " You give all the places and offices of us courtiers to these men, and so it has become necessary for us to learn their trade." Jahandar smiled, and the matter dropped.

Another story about him was spoken of in society, and has become notorious from city to city. He used to go out sometimes in a cart with a mistress and some companions to enjoy himself in the markets and drinking shops. One night he and his favourite went out in this way, and both drank so much that they became drunk and senseless. On arriving at the door of the palace, Lal Kunwar was so drunk that when she got out she took no notice whatever of the Emperor, but went to bed and slept heavily. The Emperor, who was perfectly helpless, remained fast asleep in the cart, and the driver drove home and put the cart away. When the servants saw that the Emperor was not with Lal Kunwar, they were alarmed, and having roused her up they inquired what had become of him. Lal Kunwar recovered sufficient sense to see that the Emperor was not by her side, and fell a-crying. People went running about in all directions till the Emperor was found in the cart.

Daud Khan, who was deputy of Zu-l fikar Khan in the *subas* of the Dakhin, exercised such tyranny as is quite incapable of relation. Sambha Chand, who was called the *diwan* and manager of Zu-l fikar Khan, used such filthy obscene language that the breath of his foul mouth threw decent men into agony and disgust. Night and day was passed in devotion to the lusts of this vile world.

Two or three months only had passed, when it became known that Farrukh Siyar was at Patna preparing for war, and that he was strongly supported by the Saiyids of Barha. In Rabi'u-s sani, Jahandar Shah proceeded from Lahore to Dehli. Kalich Khan, son of Ghaziu-d din Khan Firoz Jang, was a man of courage, action and intelligence. His *mansab* had been taken from him by Bahadur Shah, through heedlessness and want of appreciation of his merits, and he retired from Court in disgrace. He was now restored, and received a *mansab* of 5,000....

Troops sent against Farrukh Siyar

(Text, vol. ii, p. 697.) Information was continually brought to Jahandar Shah of the proceedings of Farrukh Siyar and the Saiyids of Barha. He now sent against them his son A'azzu-d din Khan with 5,000 horse; and he deputed with him Khwaja Hasan Khan, to whom he gave the title of *Khan-dauran*, and under whom he placed the Prince and the army and all the artillery and military equipments. Zu-l fikar Khan was aware of the limited capacity, want of experience, imbecility and frivolity of the Prince. He was also aware of the extraction, character, and evil disposition of Khwaja Hasan Khan, who was one of the lowest men of the time. He disapproved of sending him with the Prince, and of placing such extensive authority in his hands. He mentioned this matter to the Emperor, but Miyan Kokaltash Khan, father of Khwaja Hasan, had long entertained inimical and jealous feelings towards Zu-l fikar Khan and opposed everything that he proposed. The Emperor trusted Kokaltash Khan Koka and Lal Kunwar more than any one else at his Court, and so he shut his eyes to what was passing. Chin Kalich Khan, who had also been

directed to accompany the Prince, was unable to do so for want of the means of transport, and was ordered to follow him.

No sooner had Prince A'azzu-d din passed the Jumna than great disorder arose in his army in consequence of jealousy and want of co-operation among the *sardars*, and the irresolution of the Prince. When Kalich Khan arrived at Agra, he heard of the disordered state of the Prince's army in consequence of the want of union among the officers, and he advised a delay of a few days at Agra to see what course events would take.

Muhammad Farrukh Siyar, supported by Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan Husain 'Ali Khan, and other experienced warriors, was marching onwards. Chhabila Ram, *Faujdar* of Kora and Karra; with Asghar Khan, *Faujdar* of Itawa, took the treasure of their districts and went to join the Prince (A'azzu-d din); but when they got knowledge of the conduct and doings of Khan-dauran, the incapacity of the Prince, and the disorders in the army, they fell back and carried the treasure to Farrukh Siyar.

A'azzu-d din arrived at the town of Khajwa, and there he obtained intelligence of the approach of Farrukh Siyar. Although there was a distance of thirteen or fourteen *kos* between them, he was frightened. Towards the end of Shawwal he halted at Khajwa,[1] and ordered intrenchments to be thrown up and lines to be drawn around his tents and his position. When the banners of Farrukh Siyar's advanced force were seen at the distance of two *kos*, a great panic fell upon his whole army. Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan, who commanded Farrukh Siyar's advanced force, having seized upon the walls about the ruined villages, opened fire, and continued his cannonade from the third watch of the day to the third watch of the night.

A'azzu-d din had long been angry with his father in consequence of the harsh treatment he had received from Lal Kunwar; and on the 29th Shawwal he was much dispirited, as he received no support and guidance from Khan-

[1] Briggs, in his translation of the *Siyaru-l Muta-akhkhirin*, calls the place "Kuch-behary."

dauran, who showed more pusillanimity than ever. The terror of Khan-dauran was visible in his face, and the Prince consulted with him about running away. Both of them were so alarmed that they packed up what they could of their jewels, treasure and ashrafis to carry with them. The rest of their money, their tents, their wardrobes, and all their military implements, they left to plunderers. At a watch before day these two dignified chiefs, with some trusted companions, took horse and fled. Such a panic fell upon the whole army that the men lost all heart and self-command. Some of them did not wait to put saddles on their horses, or to collect their necessaries, but vied with each other in running away to save their lives. Messengers carried the news of their flight to the camp of Farrukh Siyar. Congratulations passed from tent to tent, and the sounds of rejoicing rose high. The ruffians of the *bazar* and the soldiers, more hungry than hawks on a hunting day, started off to plunder, and they seized upon money, horses, elephants, and whatever came under their hands.

When Prince A'azzu-d din arrived at Agra, Chin Kalich Khan advised him to go no farther, and kept him there. On the 18th of the month Jumada-l awwal Jahandar Shah entered Dehli. He was looking for news of victory from his son; and when he received the intelligence of his defeat he exerted the sense and judgment which the plunderers of the army of Venus had left him in making preparations for war. About the middle of Zi-l ka'da he left Dehli. The forces under the command of Zu-l fikar Khan Nusrat Jang did not exceed 20,000 horse. Twenty-five thousand horse under Kokaltash Khan came to the muster. Altogether the army contained about seventy or eighty thousand horse, and nearly a hundred thousand infantry. With this force he marched against Farrukh Siyar, and reached Samugarh near Agra. Farrukh Siyar's army did not number one-third of that of Jahandar Shah, which was advancing with difficulty.

When Farrukh Siyar drew near to Agra, and his forces were compared with Jahandar's, most men anticipated a victory for the latter. But the Emperor's partiality for

low women, his liking for low company, and his patronage of base-born nameless men, had disgusted all the nobles of Iran and Turan. They spoke with discontent, and uttered ominous words about the defeat of Jahandar Shah. The victory of Farrukh Siyar became the hope of every man in the army, great and small. Kalich Khan Bahadur and Muhammad Amin Khan, both of them leaders of the men of Turna, had come to an understanding with Farrukh Siyar, and endeavoured to bring on a battle. Zu-l fikar Khan and Kokaltash Khan considered themselves loyal and devoted servants; but their envy and hatred of each other appeared in all their acts, and everything that one did was opposed by the other....

On the 16th Zi-l hijja the armies confronted each other, and the battle began by Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan attacking Jahandar's army.... The repulse of the Saiyids of Barha drew shouts of victory from Jahandar's army. But Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan came up and attacked the centre, in which Jahandar was present.... Fright seized the elephants of the *zanana*. The elephants which carried Lal Kunwar and the singers and eunuchs were worried by the arrows; they began to dance and became violent. Some of Jahandar's companions also were overcome with fright, and thought of fleeing. Just at this time Jahandar Shah's elephant became unmanageable, and his driver lost all control over him. The fierce attack of the Barha Saiyids threw Jahandar's army into confusion, and he now heard of the death of Kokaltash Khan and... He was so disheartened that he mounted the elephant of Lal Kunwar, and, towards the end of the day, moved off, with the intention of flying to Agra.

Zu-l fikar Khan was informed of these facts; but although the day was going hard with him, he struggled on until one watch of the night, waiting to be assured of the truth about Jahandar Shah and Prince A'azzu-d din; for he said, "If they find A'azzu-d din, let them bring him forward quickly, for with his support I can repulse the enemy." No trace of him was to be found. Zu-l fikar Khan had not the heart to persevere, although he might with a little exertion

have made Farrukh Siyar prisoner, for the Prince was in front of him, protected by only a small force. According to common report, Jahandar Shah shaved off his beard, and riding behind Lal Kunwar, took the road to Dehli. Zu-l fikar Khan, having lost all hope, repaired to his father at Dehli, and he and Jahandar Shah reached that city within one watch of each other. Jahandar Shah proceeded alone to the house of Asafu-d daula Asad Khan, to seek his counsel and assistance. Zu-l fikar Khan reached his father's house soon after, and said that if Jahandar Shah was sent off to the Dakhin or Kabul, another army might be raised, and something might be done to retrieve the position. Asafu-d daula, however, perceived that the matter was beyond remedy, that Jahandar Shah was not fit to reign, and that money for one month's expenditure would be difficult to raise; so he thought the best course was to send Jahandar to the fort, and keep him under restraint.... The reign of Jahandar Shah had reached only eleven months when he met his death from the hands of Muhammad Farrukh Siyar.

Reign of Sultan Muhammad Farrukh Siyar, Son of 'Azimu-sh Shan, Son of Bahadur Shah, Fourteenth in Descent from Amir Timur

(Vol. ii, p. 707.) When Prince 'Azimu-sh Shan, eldest son of Bahadur Shah, left the *suba* of Bengal, to proceed to the Dakhin, in obedience to the summons of the Emperor Aurangzeb, he placed his middle son, Farrukh Siyar, as his deputy in the *suba* of Bengal,... and Farrukh Siyar remained acting as deputy of his father in Bengal, until Bahadur Shah returned from the Dakhin to Lahore. In the year 1122 A.H. (A.D. 1710), in the fifth year of the reign, the *suba* of Bengal was taken from Farrukh Siyar, and given to A'azzu-d daula Khan-khanan. Farrukh Siyar was recalled to Court, and starting on his journey, he got as far as 'Azimabad, *i.e.*, Patna. For personal appearance, and for intelligence, he was not held in the same esteem by his father as his elder brother Muhammad Karim, or his younger brother Muhammad Humayun Bakht. So his

coming to Court was disagreeable to his father. On reaching Patna, Farrukh Siyar, alleging a want of money and the approach of the rainy season, made a stay in the environs of that city....

When Farrukh Siyar received intelligence of the death of Bahdur Shah, he caused the *khutba* to be read and coins to be struck in the name of 'Azimu-sh Shan....

Husain 'Ali Khan Barha was acting as deputy of 'Azimu-sh Shah in the *subadari* of Patna, but at this time he had gone out into the country to punish some robbers. When he heard that the name of 'Azimu-sh Shan had been placed in the *khutba* and on the coins, before the defeat of his three brothers had been ascertained, he felt very sorry for and suspicious of Farrukh Siyar. The Prince, on his side, had observed the high courage of the Barha Saiyids, and the sway of Husain 'Ali Khan in that *suba* had deeply impressed him. He addressed kind and friendly letters to Husain, inviting him to his side. The mother of Farrukh Siyar also interceded with Husain 'Ali, and promises and engagements having been made, doubt and suspicion were changed into brotherly concord.

The intelligence of the death of 'Azimu-sh Shan, and of the victory of Jahandar Shah reached Patna. Thereupon Farrukh Siyar, in the beginning of Rabi'u-l awwal, 1123 A.H., struck coins, and had the *khutba* read in his name, and day by day he entered into closer relations with Husain 'Ali. Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan, otherwise known as Hasan 'Ali Khan, was *subadar* of Allahabad, and during these troubles about the succession the treasure of Bengal had come into his possession. He was considered a man of courage and judgment. Some intimations of his suspicion and mistrust, and of his want of obedience to the profligate Jahandar, reached Farrukh Siyar. So the Prince wrote him reassuring letters, informing him of the compact he had made with his brother Husain 'Ali. He also gave him permission to retain the treasure and to enlist troops. Husain 'Ali also wrote what was necessary on the subject, and removed all doubt from his mind. After that the two brothers, who were chiefs of the brave Barha Saiyids, worked

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heart and soul to assist Farrukh Siyar. New engagements were openly and secretly exchanged, and they set about making preparations for the great emprise, with hearts full of hope and in union with each other.

March of Farrukh Siyar from Patna

(Text, vol. ii, p. 715.) Farrukh Siyar marched from Patna towards Dehli with his two faithful generals, also with Saf-shikan Khan, who held the deputy subadarship of Orissa, and ... other devoted followers, amounting in all to twenty-five thousand horse. He was in difficulty as to money. Out of the royal treasure, and of the treasure arising from the *jagir* of 'Azimu-sh Shan that was sent from Bengal that year, nearly twenty-eight *lacs* fell into the hands of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan. About seventy-five *lacs* came into the possession of Farrukh Siyar, and he borrowed two or three *lacs* from the merchants of Patna. Of all the treasure that fell into the hands of Sarbuland Khan, *faujdar* of Karra, he kept some *lacs*, and the remainder he carried, with the help of hired carriers, to Jahandar Shah. On arriving with it, Jahandar was pleased with him, and made him *subadar* of Ahmadabad in Gujarat.

[*Victory over Jahandar.*]

(Text, vol. ii, p. 724.) After the victory of Muhammad Farrukh Siyar had been loudly proclaimed, the men of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan began to search among the dead for Husain 'Ali Khan. They found him lying senseless, and he had been stripped naked by plunderers; but the moment the good news of the victory of Farrukh Siyar fell upon the ears of the wounded man, new life came into his body, and he got up and went to his brother Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan.

Jahandar Shah remained a night in Agra. He and Zu-l fikar Khan arrived at Dehli within a watch of each other. ... Asafu-d daula saw that Jahandar's[1] course was run, and sent him to the fort, to be kept in custody. He said to his son Zu-l fikar, who opposed this violent course, "It is our duty to render obedience to whomsoever of the House of

[1] He is now called Mu'izzu-d din.

Tịmur the sovereign power devolves; so, as Jahandar Shah has been removed, we must betake ourselves to the other". The counsel of Asafu-d daula in restraining his son was ... wise and appropriate; but he did not know that it would result in the loss of his son's life and of the honour of his house.

Personal to the Author

(Text, vol. ii, p. 726.) I have already said in my Preface, that it is the duty of an historian to be faithful, to have no hope of profit, no fear of injury, to show no partiality on one side, or animosity on the other, to know no difference between friend and stranger, and to write nothing but with sincerity. But in these changeful and wonderful times of Farrukh Siyar Badshah, ... men have shown a partiality or an animosity to one side or the other exceeding all bounds. They have looked to their own profit and loss, and turned the reins of their imagination accordingly. The virtues of one side they have turned into faults, while they have shut their eyes to the faults of the other—passing all the bounds of moderation. The writer of these leaves, who, following his own inclination, has wasted his days in authorship, has not been partial either to friends or strangers, and has flattered neither nobles nor *wazirs* in the hope of reward. What he himself saw, what he heard from the tongues of men who from time to time were the associates of Muhammad Farrukh Siyar, and from the Saiyids who were his companions at the banquet table and in battle, that he has honestly committed to writing, after endeavouring to arrive at the truth when statements varied. But as notes of various occurrences and transactions did not reach the author, and as, through distress and the unfriendliness of fortune, he was unable to procure paper for his rough drafts, and as discrepancies in the various statements became greater, if it should appear that in any place the author differs in any particulars from other histories and writers, who themselves may not be free from partiality, and as variations will appear in the most trustworthy histories, he begs that his stories being excused, they may not be made

a target for the arrows of censure, but that the pen of kindness may be drawn over his hasty statements.

Appointment of Ministers

(Vol. ii, p. 727.) After the victory ... Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan, Lutfu-llah Khan Sadik, and other *amirs* were sent to arrange matters at Dehli. Farrukh Siyar, after a week's rest, started for that city, and encamped in the environs on the 11th Muharram, 1124 A.H. (9th Feb., A.D. 1712). Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan received the title of *Kutbu-l Mulk* and *Yar-i wafadar Zafar Jang,* with other favours, and a *mansab* of 7,000 and 7,000 horse, *do-aspas* and *sih-aspas*. Husain 'Ali Khan received the title of *Amiru-l umara Firoz Jang,* with a *mansab* of 7,000 and 7,000 horse. He also received other honours, and was appointed to the office of *Mir Bakhshi.* Muhammad Amin Khan was entitled *I'timadu-d daula;* his *mansab* was increased 1,000, and he was appointed second *Bakhshi.* Kalich Khan's *mansab* was augmented from 5,000 to 7,000 and 7,000 horse; he received the title of *Nizamu-l Mulk Bahadur Fath Jang,* and was appointed *subadar* of the Dakhin.[1] [*Many other promotions and appointments.*]

(Text, vol. ii, p. 730.) Farrukh Siyar had no will of his own. He was young, inexperienced in business, and inattentive to affairs of State. He had grown up in Bengal, far away from his grandfather and father. He was entirely dependent on the opinions of others, for he had no resolution or discretion. By the help of fortune he had seized the crown. The timidity of his character contrasted with the vigour of the race of Timur, and he was not cautious in listening to the words of artful men. From the beginning of his reign he himself brought his troubles on himself. One great fault he committed at the outset of his reign, in appointing Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, a Saiyid of Barha, to the office of *Wazir,* which is such a high and important trust that former kings always bestowed it upon wise, great and high-minded men, remarkable for patience, experience, clemency

[1] This was the origin of the Nizams of Haidarabad.

and affability, whose qualities had been tested by long experience.... [*The various appointments*] sowed the seed of enmity in the hearts of both parties, and the watering it received from malicious calumnious people brought it to maturity.

Mir Jumla[1] had risen into the King's favour. He was a friendly, generous, and upright man (*diyanat*), from whom many received kindnesses; but he was unwilling that the reins of the government of Hindustan should pass into the hands of the Barha Saiyids. When he saw that the sovereign power was entirely under the control of the two brothers, he could not suppress his envy and rivalry. By lauding the interest and sympathy shown to the Emperor by his new associates, he gained his point, and stirred up dissensions between him and the Barha Saiyids. According to common report, it was he who was the prime mover in recommending the destruction of the old hereditary nobles, and also of overthrowing the family of Asafu-d daula. The two brothers were not inclined to bear patiently Mir Jumla's invidious and provoking interference in their affairs, and every day they overstepped the bounds of subordination and duty. It has been commonly reported that the Saiyids prompted and shared in the execution of Zu-l fikar Khan Nusrat Jang; but I will now relate what I have ascertained from sure sources.

Murders, and other Punishments

Asafu-d daula and Zu-l fikar Khan came with their hearts full of doubt and apprehension to wait upon the Emperor. *Amiru-l umara* Husain 'Ali Khan, having been informed of the consolation and desires of Mir Jumla and the Emperor, sent a message to Asafu-d daula, promising him that, if he would wait upon the Emperor under his (Husain Khan's) introduction, not a hair of his head should be injured. Some other nobles, when they heard of this

[1] "His original name was 'Abdu-llah. He received the title of Mir Jumla directly after Farrukh Siyar's accession."—*Tazkira-i Chaghatai.*

advice, disapproved of it, and sent Takarrub Khan, who was a man of Iran, and chosen for being a compatriot, to Zu-l fikar Khan, to console him, and to assure him, after taking the most sacred oaths, that his introduction to the Emperor by Husain 'Ali Khan would be productive of nothing but repentance and danger to his life and property. . . . Mir Jumla having brought Asafu-d daula and Zu-l fikar Khan, fastened the hands of the latter to his turban, and thus presented them. Asafu-d daula spoke two or three words, expressing sorrow for his offences and hope of pardon. Farrukh Siyar spoke with apparent kindness, ordered (Zu-l fikar Khan's) hands to be released, and made presents of robes and jewels. He then told Asafu-d daula to return home, and said that there was some business about which he wanted to consult with Zu-l fikar Khan, and that Zu-l fikar Khan should sit down in an outer tent.

The father saw that his son was doomed, and with a swelling heart and tearful eyes he repaired to his tent. Zu-l fikar Khan washed his hands of life, and having prepared himself for death, he went to the place appointed. He was surrounded by *amirs* and their men (*chelas*). First, with bitter words, they demanded of him the blood of 'Azimu-sh Shan and Muhammad Karim, and he replied to them with rough and sharp answers. Thereupon Lachin Beg, entitled Bahadur Dil Khan, and according to common report, one of the *chelas*, came behind Zu-l fikar Khan, threw a thong (*tasma*)[1] round his neck unawares, and pulled it tight. The *chelas* surrounded him on all sides; they struck him with sticks and their fists and kicked him; others used their knives and daggers, and never ceased till they had despatched him.

On the same day the order was given that men should go into the fort, to the *tirpauliya*, a small and dark room in which Jahandar Shah was confined, and despatch him also with the thong. Muhammad Farrukh Siyar entered the city and fort on the 17th Muharram (15th Feb., A.D. 1712), and gave orders that, in retaliation for violent acts against his brothers and the *amirs*, his head should be stuck

[1] The Turkish bowstring.

upon a spear, and carried round the city on an elephant, with carcase lying in the *howda*. The corpse of Zu-l fikar was ordered to be hung head downwards from the tail of the elephant. After thus being paraded before the people, the bodies were to be brought into the city and thrown down at the gate of the fort.

Directions were also given that Asafu-d daula should be placed in a palankin and conducted along with his *zanana*—and carrying only the clothes and appurtenances which he and his attendants stood upright in—to the house of Khan Jahan, there to be kept in confinement and under guard. An order of confiscation was also made against the household effects of father and son, and the effects of Kokaltash Khan, Raja Sabha Chand, and some others connected with Jahandar Shah, who had incurred the anger of the Emperor and of Heaven. Raja Sabha Chand abused the officials, and so an order was given for cutting out his tongue. [*More executions.*]

In common conversation the title of Lachin Beg was changed into the nickname *Tasma-kash* (thong-puller). As men were subjected to this punishment of the thong without ascertainment or proof of offence, such a terror of it seized the hearts of the nobles of the reign of Aurangzeb and Bahadur Shah, that when any one left his home to attend upon the Emperor, he took farewell of his sons and family. Matters went to such a length that actors and mountebanks got a living by exhibiting the newly-invented punishment of the thong.... Hakim Salim had been one of the personal attendants upon 'Azimu-sh Shan, and it was said that the Prince was killed at his suggestion. Mir Jumla invited the *hakim* to his house, and treated him sumptuously at night; but before morning men were sent to his door, and they strangled him. The deaths of several victims were attributed by evil report to Mir Jumla.

(Text, vol. ii, p. 737.) An order was made that the reign of Jahandar Shah should be considered as an adverse possession, and that the reign of Muhammad Farrukh Siyar should date from the 1st Rabi'u-l awwal, 1123 A.H. (8th April, A.D. 1711).

After Nizamu-l Mulk Bahadur Fath Jang arrived in the Dakhin, the might of his hereditary sword and his own sound judgment brought about, as they had done before, a great abatement of the ravages perpetrated by the Mahrattas upon the country and upon caravans, without his having to resort to war with the vile foe. But wherever Nusrat Jang and Daud Khan went, the Mahrattas made their incursions, and levied the *chauth*.

SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN (1124 A.H., A.D. 1712)

(Vol. ii, p. 737.) After the death of Aurangzeb, Raja Ajit Singh of Jodhpur showed his unworthy character by re-building the temples and destroying the mosques in his territory. When Bahadur Shah had fought against and overcome Muhammad A'zam Shah, he formed the design of chastising the Raja, and of ravaging his country and the territories of other impious *Rajputs*. But events would not allow him to prosecute his intention, and he had to march to the Dakhin against his younger brother Muhammad Kam Bakhsh. In the reign of Bahadur Shah also Ajit Singh and other vicious *Rajputs* were guilty of many improper acts. Bahadur Shah, on returning from the Dakhin, again resolved to lead an army to chastise this perverse tribe. The revolt of the Sikhs and the troubles they caused obliged him to abandon the enterprise, and to march against the Sikh revolters. Upon the accession of Muhammad Farrukh Siyar, the *Rajputs* did not show proper allegiance, and therefore *Amiru-l umara* Husain 'Ali Khan and the Emperor's maternal uncle, Shayista Khan, were sent against them, with other *amirs* and a suitable army.

Raja Ajit Singh, upon learning of the march of this army, was alarmed at its strength and at the prowess of the Saiyids. He sent his property and family into the hills and strong places, and, having cleared his country, he sent envoys to *Amiru-l umara* with presents, suing for peace and forgiveness of his offences. Just at this time several letters arrived from Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan, informing his brother of the intrigues and malice of their rivals at Court, and

urging him to return. *Amiru-l umara* Husain 'Ali consequently concluded a peace with Ajit Singh, the Raja agreeing to pay tribute, to send his daughter for Farrukh Siyar, and his son to pay homage. Having made this settlement, *Amiru-l umara* left Shayista Khan, the King's uncle, to bring the girl, while he went on to Court.

'Abdu-llah Khan and Husain 'Ali Khan desired that no *mansabs* or promotions or appointments to office should be made without consulting them. The Emperor had given Mir Jumla authority to sign his name, and repeatedly said, "The word of Mir Jumla and the signature of Mir Jumla are my word and my signature". *Kutbu-l Mulk* Saiyid 'Abdu-llah had given to his *diwan*, a grain-dealer named Ratan Chand, the title of Raja, and a *mansab* of two thousand, and he had reposed in him authority in all government and ministerial matters. This man attended to nobody's business without some underhand arrangement for the benefit of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan and himself. When an aspirant resorted to Mir Jumla for a *mansab*, for promotion, or for an appointment to office, he, acting uprightly as the deputy of the Emperor, wrote his signature and satisfied the applicant. This practice was contrary to all the rules of the wazir's office; it weakened the authority of the Saiyids, and was the cause of great annoyance to the two brothers. Mir Jumla also often exhibited his own devotion to the Emperor by complaining of and blaming the Saiyids, and he persuaded him by various proofs that such high offices and ministerial authority were above the abilities of the Saiyids of Barha. By various unworthy artifices he brought forward evidence of their disloyalty, and by malicious statements made in private, he succeeded in turning the heart of Farrukh Siyar against the two brothers. He repeatedly urged the Emperor to make Husain 'Ali and 'Abdu-llah Khan prisoners. They went out on a hunting excursion to the garden of Muhsin Khan and by various representations, he tried to stir the Emperor up to take the bold step (of seizing them), but he did not succeed. Report says that Farrukh Siyar's mother, remembering the promise and agreement he had made with

the two brothers, gave information of this secret intrigue to Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan.

Another work which the common talk of all classes attributed to the influence of Mir Jumla, and in which it is probable the Saiyids of Barha had no part, was the blinding of the Princes. A'azzu-d din, son of Jahandar Shah, after the flight of his father from the field of battle, hid himself in Agra, but he was discovered and taken. Muhammad Humayun Bakht, younger brother of Farrukh Siyar, was only ten or eleven years old. Wala-tabar was son of Muhammad A'zam Shah. All these were deprived of sight. In retribution of this (cruelty), Farrukh Siyar's son, a child of two years old, was suddenly taken from him by death.

At this time *Amiru-l umara* Husain 'Ali preferred a claim to the *subadari* of the Dakhin, with the intention of adopting Zu-l fikar Khan's practice of discharging the duties of the office by deputy. His plan was to appoint Daud Khan as his deputy, to agree with him on a total sum to be paid annually, while he himself would remain at Court. But the Emperor, in consultation with Mir Jumla, desired that Husain 'Ali should go in person to the Dakhin. It was necessary to accept or reject the conditions, and *Amiru-l umara* Husain 'Ali, after considering the course pursued by the King and Mir Jumla, refused to go to the Dakhin and leave his brother (alone at Court). A strong altercation arose, and matters went so far that both brothers refrained from going to Court and waiting upon the Emperor; they even meditated the levying of soldiers and throwing up lines of defence round their residence.

The Emperor called together for private consultation his well-affected nobles, who had taken part in his councils with Mir Jumla Khan-dauran and Muhammad Amin Khan, and every day he brought forward a new proposition. Reports of these dissensions and of the dearness of grain caused uneasiness and disturbances in the cities far and near. After a great deal of correspondence, and the mediation of the mother of the Emperor, who went to see *Kutbu-l Mulk* Saiyid 'Abdu-llah at his house, and satisfied

him, it was agreed that the Saiyids should make their own arrangements in the fort, and that both brothers should then attend the *darbar*. Accordingly the men of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah and of Husain 'Ali were posted in various places under their direction; the brothers then went to wait upon the Emperor, to ask pardon for their offences. They complained of the Emperor's change of feeling, and, taking off their swords, they laid them before him, and said, "If, through the words of detractors, suspicion of us has found its way into your gracious mind, order that we should be put to death upon the spot, or deprive us of our *mansabs* and send us to the holy temple. But to let the suggestions of calumniators and the words of mischief-making designing men operate to the insult and to the injury of the life and property of faithful servants, is far from being the practice of just-minded kings".

To put away strife, and lay the foundations of peace, it was settled that Mir Jumla should depart to the *suba* of 'Azimabad (Patna) before *Amiru-l umara* Husain 'Ali started for the Dakhin. So with all despatch Mir Jumla was presented with his robe, and was sent off to Patna. *Amiru-l umara* further stated to the Emperor, "If in my absence you recall Mir Jumla to your presence, or if my brother, *Kutbu-l Mulk* Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, again receives similar treatment, you may rely upon my being here from the Dakhin in the course of twenty days." He made another stipulation that the removal from and appointment to all *jagirs* and offices, and the change of commandants of forts, should be under his control. The Emperor was in such a difficult position that he deemed it advisable to comply. Moreover, according to common report, he *nolens volens* delivered over with his own hand to *Amiru-l umara* his signet ring, so that the *farmans* appointing commandants of forts should not require the royal assent. For four or five months after the departure of *Amiru-l umara* there was a cessation of these exciting scenes.

Nizamu-l Mulk

(Text, vol. ii, p. 742.) Nizamu-l Mulk Bahadur Fath Jang, after receiving his appointment as *subadar* of the Dakhin,

went to *Khujista-bunyad* (Aurangabad). It has already been stated that the fame of the sword of this renowned noble put a stop to the ravaging of the country and the plundering of the caravans, which the forces of the Mahrattas practised every year, without his having to fight with either the army of Raja Sahu or Tara Bai. But as the hands of the Mahrattas stretched everywhere, their agents appeared in all places according to usage to collect the *chauth*, that is to say, the fourth part of the land revenue of every district, which they levied every year. Nizamu-l Mulk's pride was too great to submit to this, and he was desirous of preventing the collection of *chauth*, and especially in the neighbourhood of Aurangabad. He wrote orders to the *faujdars* and *Zila'dars*, directing them to oust the *kamaish-dars* of Raja Sahu from several places dependent upon Aurangabad.

After the *'Id-i fitr*, in the second year of the reign, he went out with five or six thousand horse and a strong force of artillery to settle the country, and repel any attempt of the enemy's army.... None of the Mahratta chiefs had the courage to face him, but fled at his approach; so, after satisfying himself as to the state of the country, and chastising some rebels, he returned to Aurangabad, where he arrived at the beginning of Zi-l hijja. After his return, the Mahratta summoned up courage enough to begin plundering the caravans in remote districts. There was a caravan proceeding from Surat and Ahmadabad to Aurangabad, and Muhammad Ibrahim Khan Tabrizi, *Bakhshi* and *Waki'-nigar* of Baglana, who with a party was travelling along with that caravan, was killed. In Rajab of the second year of the reign, 1125 (July 1713), the enemy assembled twenty-three *kos* from Aurangabad, at a fort called Panah-garhi, which they had built, as in other *subas*, as a place of refuge for themselves in their retreats. [*Defeat of the Mahrattas, and destruction of the forts by Nizamu-l Mulk's lieutenants.*]

Husain 'Ali Khan in the Dakhin

(Text, vol. ii, p. 750.) Intelligence arrived (in the Dakhin) of the appointment of *Amiru-l umara* Husain 'Ali Khan to

the *subadari* of the Dakhin, and of the despatch of a *sanad* appointing Najabat Khan, *subadar* of Burhanpur for civil affairs, and Haidar Kuli Khan his *diwan* for revenue matters. Nizamu-l Mulk accordingly left Aurangabad at the beginning of *Safar*, with the intention of proceeding to Court, and got as far as Burhanpur. There he found that two or three Mahratta leaders with a large force were making threatening demonstrations; so he took horse, and went forth to attack them.... The Mahrattas were unable to make any resistance, and after chastising and pursuing them for forty *kos*, he returned to Burhanpur, and resumed his journey to Court.

Towards the end of Jumada-l awwal, Husain 'Ali Khan, who was on his journey from the capital, and Nizamu-l Mulk, passed within one or two *kos* of each other. Although Husain 'Ali Khan wished very much to meet Nizamu-l Mulk, out of consideration for the feelings of the Emperor, he passed on. When *Amiru-l umara* Husain 'Ali arrived at the ford of Akbarpur on the Nerbadda, he there heard that Daud Khan Pani, *subadar* of Ahmadabad, having, in pursuance of orders, became *subadar* of Khandesh, had come to Burhanpur. Husain 'Ali Khan also heard the common report that secret orders had reached Daud Khan, directing him neither to meet nor obey Husain 'Ali, but rather to do his best in resisting him, and hopes were held out of his being appointed *subadar* of the whole Dakhin. So Daud Khan had set his heart upon winning the *subadari*, and had no intention of waiting upon Husain 'Ali Khan.

Amiru-l umara, upon hearing these matters, sent a message to Daud Khan to the effect: "The whole *subadari* of the Dakhin has been confided to me, therefore you must not overstep the bounds of subordination, but must hasten to meet me. Otherwise you must proceed to the Emperor, so that there may be no disturbance and shedding of the blood of Musulmans." Daud Khan was unwilling to assent to either proposition; and although he very unwillingly came, he encamped outside the city; and he refrained from making his submission to *Amiru-l umara*

Husain Ali, because he had very close relations with the Mahratta chiefs. Nima Sindhia, who was the most important of all the servants of the State, having heard a report of Daud Khan's going to Husain 'Ali and giving him his support, had come with several other chiefs and encamped near Burhanpur, so that at the proper time he might join the stronger party. The dispute (*guftgu*) between *Amiru-l umara* and Daud Khan daily grew longer, and at length, in the beginning of Ramazan, it came to the test of battle. *Amiru-l umara* had 15,000 horse with him, and with these he went forth to battle. Daud Khan had not more than three or four thousand Afghan horse on that day; but he placed Hiraman Baksariya, who was always his chief swordsman, in command of his advance force, and came to the field of battle in the plain of the Lal Bagh of Burhanpur.... A desperate fight followed.... Daud Khan had resolved to have a personal combat with Husain 'Ali Khan. He went into the field fully accoutred, and he directed his elephant-driver to place his elephant by the side of that ridden by Husain 'Ali.... Although few men remained with Daud Khan, he fought most vigorously against Husain 'Ali. With the two or three hundred devoted Afghan horse which remained with him, he pressed forward, discharging arrows, to encounter Husain 'Ali. Great disorder and panic spread in the *Amiru-l umara's* force, and many [*of his nobles*] were killed and wounded.

Mir Mushrif, who was renowned for his bravery and personal strength, went out to battle clad in armour. Seated in a splendid *howda*, and drawing his bowstring to his ear, he urged his elephant on against that of Daud Khan. As Daud Khan had come into the field without armour, he cried out to Mir Mushrif, "Why do you cover up your face like a woman? Put off your armour that I may see your person." Saying this he discharged an arrow at him, which wounded him in the throat, Mir Mushrif pulled out the arrow with great pain and fell fainting in his *howda*. According to the statements of several elephant-drivers, Daud Khan then tried to fasten the two elephants together, and, in so doing, struck Mir Mushrif three or four blows

on the back and side with the elephant-goad. Mir Mushrif's driver managed to get his elephant away from that of Daud Khan; but *Amiru-l umara's* men, who had seen the blows, thought Mir Mushrif was killed; so great alarm spread through their ranks, and a total rout seemed about to fall upon the army. Some indeed withdrew from the fight, leaving their leaders still holding their ground and fighting bravely. At this critical moment a musket-ball struck Daud Khan and killed him. The elephant-driver and Daud's companions, who had escaped the sword, finding that he was dead, turned away the elephant from the field. The bloody elephant was brought back, and the corpse of Daud was taken out and tied to its tail, and in that state it was brought to the city.

Nima Sindhia and the other Mahratta chiefs who had joined *Amiru-l umara* looked on the battle from a distance with an eye to plundering the vanquished party. In the height of the battle they withdrew, and prepared to flee; but they came to offer their congratulations to *Amiru-l umara* on his victory. Their men fell to plundering the baggage and property of Daud Khan's army; but all the treasure, elephants, horses, and warlike stores fell into the hands of *Amiru-l umara*. Out of all this he sent some elephants to the Emperor after the lapse of two years.

Daud Khan was said to be impotent; but when he was *subadar* of Ahmadabad, a daughter of one of the *zamindars* was brought, and, according to the custom of the country, was presented to the ruler as tribute. He converted her to Islam, and married her. She became pregnant by him, and when he went forth to battle, she was seven months gone with child. On his departure, she, in her pride, took the dagger from his belt, and kept it carefully by her. When she heard of his death, she ripped open her belly, brought forth the child alive, and then departed with her husband to the next world. But this story has not been authenticated.

When the result of the battle and the death of Daud Khan was reported to Farrukh Siyar, his countenance seemed clouded with sorrow, and he said to *Kutbu-l Mulk*

Saiyid Abdu-llah that it was a pity such a renowned and noble chief had been killed. *Kutbu-l Mulk* replied: "If my brother had been slain by the hands of the Afghan, it would have given Your Majesty satisfaction."

THIRD YEAR OF THE REIGN (1125 A.H., A.D. 1713)

Religious Disturbances

(Vol. ii, p. 755.) After Daud Pani became *subadar* of Ahmadabad in Gujarat, in the second year of the reign, on the night when the *holi* of the Hindus is burnt, a certain Hindu, between whose house and the house of some Musulmans there was a court-yard common to both houses, prepared to burn the *holi* in front of his house; but the Musulmans prevented him. The Hindu went to Daud Khan, who frequently favoured the infidels, and argued that he had a right to do as he liked in his own house. After a good deal of talk and importunity, the right to burn the *holi* was allowed. Next day a Musulman, who dwelt opposite the house, desiring to give an entertainment in honour of the Prophet, brought a cow and slaughtered it there, on the ground that it was his own house. All the Hindus of the quarter assembled in a mob round the Musulmans, and the Musulmans, being unable to resist, went into their houses and hid themselves.

The Hindus grew so bold and violent that they seized a lad of fourteen or fifteen years old, the son of a cow-butcher, and, according to the statement of one of the citizens who fell into their hands, they dragged the boy off and slaughtered him. The report and sight of the outrage drew the Musulmans together from all quarters; the cry for a general disturbance was raised, and they were ready to do battle with the Hindus. A great concourse assembled, and among them several thousand Afghans, in the service of Daud Khan, eager to defend the honour of Islam, without caring to please their master. The Afghans of the suburbs and the inhabitants of the city assembled together in a great crowd, and went off with one accord to the house of the

kazi. The *kazi* seeing the mob, hearing the disturbance, and thinking of the partiality of the *subadar*, shut his door upon the people.

Report says that upon a hint of the *kazi* as to the conduct and partiality of Daud Khan towards the Hindus, the Musulmans set fire to the door of the *kazi's* house, and began to burn the shops in the *chauk* and the houses of the Hindus. In the riot many shops were destroyed. They then went off with the intention of burning the house of Kapur Chand, a jeweller, and an active infidel, who took a leading part in this business, and was an acquaintance of Daud Khan. He got notice of their intention, and, with a number of matchlockmen whom he collected, he shut the gate of his ward of the town and showed fight. Numbers of Musulmans and Hindus were killed. The riot reached such a pitch that for three or four days all business and work in Ahmadabad was suspended. A large number of the leaders on both sides resolved to appeal to the Emperor. Daud Khan placed his own seal on the petition of Kapur Chand, and the *kazi* and other officials having certified to the violence of the Musulmans, it was sent to Dehli. Shaikh 'Abdu-l aziz [*and other Musulmans*] went in person to Court. [*Further religious contention and violence at Dehli.*]

Fourth Year of the Reign (1126 A.H., A.D. 1714)

War with the Sikhs[1]

(Text, vol. ii, p. 761.) The violence (of the Sikhs) passed all bounds. The injuries and indignities they inflicted on Musulmans, and the destruction of mosques and tombs, were looked upon by them as righteous meritorious acts. They had built a fort at Gurdaspur in the Panjab, ten or twelve days' journey from Dehli, and extended its limits so that fifty or sixty thousand horse and foot could find

[1] Or, as the author expresses it, "Extermination of the hellish good-for-nothing *Guru*."

protection. They strengthened the towers and walls of the place, took possession of all the cultivated land around, and ravaged the country from Lahore to Sihrind, otherwise called Sirhind. 'Abdu-s Samad Khan *Diler Jang* was appointed *subadar* of Lahore, and was sent thither with . . . and with a select army and artillery. 'Abdu-s Samad engaged the vast army of the *Guru* near his fort. The infidels fought so fiercely that the army of Islam was nearly overpowered; and they over and over again showed the greatest daring. Great numbers were killed on both sides; but Mughal valour at length prevailed, and the infidels were defeated and driven to their stronghold.

The infidels on several occasions showed the greatest boldness and daring, and made nocturnal attacks upon the Imperial forces. 'Abdu-s Samad *Diler Jang*, while lying in front of their poor fortress,[1] was obliged to throw up an intrenchment for the defence of his force. He raised batteries; and pushed forward his approaches. The siege lasted a long time, and the enemy exhibited great courage and daring. They frequently made sallies into the trenches, and killed many of the besiegers. To relate all the struggles and exertions of 'Abdu-s Samad and his companions in arms would exceed our bounds. Suffice it to say that the royal army in course of time succeeded in cutting off from the enemy his supplies of corn and fodder, and the stores in the fort were exhausted. [*Great straits and sufferings of the besieged.*]

Being reduced to the last extremity, and despairing of life, the *Sikhs* offered to surrender on condition of their lives being spared. *Diler Jang* at first refused to grant quarter; but at length he advised them to beg pardon of their crimes and offences from the Emperor. Their chief *Guru*,[2] with his son of seven or eight years old, his *diwan*, and three or four thousand persons, became prisoners, and received the pre-destined recompense for their deeds.

[1] The word used is the diminutive "*Kil'achi*"; but, as the place held so many men, it could not have been small; so the word probably applies rather to its character than its size. It was probably a series of earth-works.

[2] His name was Banda.

'Abdu-s Samad had three or four thousand of them put to the sword, and he filled that extensive plain with blood as if it had been a dish. Their heads were stuffed with hay and stuck upon spears. Those who escaped the sword were sent in collars and chains to the Emperor.... 'Abdu-s Samad sent nearly two thousand heads stuffed with hay and a thousand persons bound with iron chains in charge of his son, Zakariya Khan, and others to the Emperor.

In the month of Muharram, the prisoners and the stuffed heads arrived at Dehli. The *Bakhshi* I'timadu-d daula Muhammad Amin Khan received orders to go out of the city, to blacken the faces and put wooden caps on the heads of the prisoners; to ride himself upon an elephant, place the prisoners on camels, and the heads on spears, and thus enter the city, to give a warning to all spectators. After they had entered the city, and passed before the Emperor, orders were given for confining the *Guru*, his son and two or three of his principal companions, in the fort. As to the rest of the prisoners it was ordered that two or three hundred of the miserable wretches should be put to death every day before the *kotwal's* office and in the streets of the *bazar*. The men of the *Khatri* caste, who were secretly members of the sect, and followers of the *Guru*, sought by the offer of large sums of money to Muhammad Amin Khan and other mediators to save the life of the *Guru*, but they were unsuccessful. After all the *Guru's* companions had been killed, an order was given that his son should be slain in his presence, or rather that the boy should be killed by his own hands, in requital of the cruelty which that accursed one had shown in the slaughter of the sons of others. Afterwards, he himself was killed.

Many stories are told about the wretched dogs of this sect, which the understanding rejects; but the author will relate what he saw with his own eyes.

When the executions were going on, the mother of one of the prisoners, a young man just arrived at manhood, having obtained some influential support, pleaded the cause of her son with great feeling and earnestness before the Emperor and Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan. She represented

that her son had suffered imprisonment and hardship at the hands of the sect. His property was plundered, and he was made prisoner. While in captivity, he was, without any fault of his own, introduced into the sect, and now stood innocent among those sentenced to death. Farrukh Siyar commiserated this artful woman, and mercifully sent an officer with orders to release the youth. That cunning woman arrived with the order of release just as the executioner was standing with his bloody sword upheld over the young man's head. She showed the order for his release. The youth then broke out into complaints, saying, "My mother tells a falsehood: I with heart and soul join my fellow-believers in devotion to the *Guru:* send me quickly after my companions."

It is said that I'timadu-d daula Muhammad Amin Khan, when he had an interview with the *Guru*, said to him, "The marks of sense and intelligence are visible in thy countenance: how is it that you never thought about the recompense of your deeds, and that in a short span of life with a dreadful futurity you have been guilty of such cruelty and of such detestable actions to Hindus and Musulmans?" He replied, "In all religions and sects, whenever disobedience and rebellion among mortal men passes all bounds, the Great Avenger raises up a severe man like me for the punishment of their sins and the due reward of their works.

'When He wishes to desolate the world,
He places dominion in the hands of a tyrant.'

When He desires to give the tyrant the recompense of his works, He sends a strong man like you to prevail over him, and to give him his due reward in this world: as you and I can see."

FIFTH YEAR OF THE REIGN (1127 A.H., A.D. 1715)

(Vol. ii, p. 769.) Mir Jumla found it impossible to remain at Patna with honour, in consequence of the excessive demands which the army made upon him for pay. He had disbursed a large sum of government treasure, but their demands and the loud cries raised by the peasantry against

their violence made him resolve to go off with all speed to Dehli.... In those days, every week and every month some new report got abroad as to the Emperor's intentions and designs in respect to *Kutbu-l Mulk* Saiyid 'Abdu-llah. There was a general rumour that Mir Jumla had been recalled, and that Saiyid 'Abdu-llah was to be made prisoner. When Mir Jumla waited upon the Emperor, he was coldly received, and he was severely censured for the wretched state of the people of Patna, and for having come to Court without permission. Mir Jumla, being hurt, went to the Saiyid, and having represented his helplessness, despair and obedience, sought to obtain forgiveness of his offences from the Emperor and from Saiyid 'Abdu-llah. But intelligent men looked on all this as trick and artifice to secure the imprisonment of the *wazir*.

About the same time, either by design or accident, seven or eight thousand horsemen of dismissed *mansabdars* went to the houses of Muhammad Amin Khan *Bakhshi*, Khan-dauran the deputy of *Amiru-l umara*, and Mir Jumla, complaining and demanding their arrears of pay.... For four or five days bodies of horsemen appeared in the streets and *bazars* armed and prepared for battle. On the other side the officers of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, with suitable forces, ready accoutred and mounted on elephants and horses, held themselves ready for a conflict until night-fall. Mir Jumla was bewildered, and not knowing which way to turn, he went and took refuge in the house of Muhammad Amin Khan. The arrows of censure were aimed at him from all sides, and he knew not what to do. At length it was deemed expedient, in order to quell the disturbance and pacify *Kutbu-l Mulk*, that the Emperor should look with anger upon Mir Jumla, diminish his *mansab*, remove him from the *suba* of 'Azimabad (Patna), and appoint him to that of the Panjab. Sarbuland Khan was named *subadar* of 'Azimabad and Nizamu-l Mulk Bahadur Fath Jang was appointed *Faujdar* of Muradabad, to repress the disorder which reigned there.

For a long time it was the talk of strife-makers and restless men that the Emperor had sent Mir Jumla to Sirhind

and the Panjab, as a matter of policy, and that he intended to recall him. Whenever the Emperor went out into the country round the capital to hunt, and remained out for three or four months, the rumour spread from house to house, and from tent to tent, that he had come out for the purpose of making Saiyid 'Abdu-llah prisoner. On the other side, the Saiyid was suspicious, and continued to enlist soldiers, but he engaged very few who were not Saiyids or inhabitants of Barha.

In this year died Asad Khan Karam-malu,[1] at the age of ninety-four years. He had held the office of *wazir* and other important posts under Shah Jahan, Aurangzeb and Bahadur Shah.... His ancestors were nobles of Iran.... It is said that in the days of his last illness, Farrukh Siyar sent one of his attendants to visit him, and deliver the following message secretly, "We did not know your worth, and have done what we ought not to have done to such a valuable servant of the State, but repentance is of no avail; still we hope you will give us your advice about the way to treat the Saiyids." The old man said, "The fault which you committed, contrary to the practice of your ancestors, proceeded only from the will of God. I knew that, when the office of minister went out of my family, ruin threatened the House of Timur. But as you have placed yourself and the reins of power in the hands of the Saiyids of Barha, the best thing for the State is, that you should, to the best of your ability, deal kindly with them, and not carry matters to such a pitch that strife and discord should increase, and you should lose all power.

Sixth Year of the Reign, 1129[2] A.H. (A.D. 1717)

(Text, vol. ii, p. 773.) Intelligence arrived from the Dakhin which found no place in the communications sent

[1] His real name was Ibrahim, that of his son Zu-l fikar Khan was Isma'il.

[2] The Hijra years of the reign are those supplied by the editors of the Text.

to Court by *Amiru-l umara* Husain 'Ali. He was appointing his own followers to the command of the great fortresses, which appointments had always been made previously by the sovereign himself. At Court, also, Raja Ratan Chand, the *diwan* of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan, interfered with the appointments of the revenue officers, allowing them no certainty or security in their positions.... Every day these things became more and more annoying to the Emperor. (Text, vol. ii, p. 775.) In consequence of the ill-temper of the Emperor, who had become more than ever a man of pleasure and retirement, Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan did not, for four or five months together, go to his office to perform his duties as minister and sign papers, so all business was stopped. 'Inayatu-llah Khan made a representation upon this matter, and asked that he would attend the office once or twice a week. There was a contention about this for several days, but nothing come of it.

At the instance also of 'Inayatu-llah, in this year 1131 (*sic*) A.H., an order was given for levying the *jizya* from the Hindus, which was against the wish of Ratan Chand. Hindus, eunuchs and Kashmirians, by craft, cheating, and oppression, had got possession of *mansabs* and the rents of *jagirs*, and the extent of other *jagirs* had in like manner been reduced. 'Inayatu-llah prayed that the accounts should be inquired into, and that the *mansabs* in the possession of Hindus and other oppressors should be diminished or confiscated. This proposition was very distasteful to Ratan Chand and other revenue officials. They addressed themselves to *Kutbu-l Mulk* Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, and he was opposed to the issue of the order. All the Hindus were greatly enraged with 'Inayatu-llah, because of the order for collecting the *jizya*, and of the advice about the cutting down of the *mansabs*.

Seventh Year of the Reign, 1129 A.H. (A.D. 1717)

(Text, vol. ii, p. 777.) After *Amiru-l umara* Husain 'Ali had defeated Daud Khan, he went to Aurangabad, and busied himself in settling the country. There he heard of

the doings of Khandu Daphariya,[1] general in chief of Raja Sahu. In each of the two *subas* of the Dakhin, a Mahratta chief was appointed *subadar* for the collection of the Mahratta *chauth*, in the same way as Imperial *subadars* were appointed. Khandu held the *suba* of Khandesh. On the road to the port of Surat he had built a mud fort and placed a garrison in it. All caravans that passed were required to pay the *chauth*, i.e. a fourth part of the value of property of merchants and others which was in the convoy. If they agreed to pay, they passed safe; if not, they were plundered, the men were made prisoners, and were not released until a ransom was paid for each.

Husain 'Ali sent his *bakhshi*, Zu-l fikar Beg, with three or four thousand horse and five or six thousand musketeers, to chastise this chief. After Zu-l fikar Beg had passed through the pass between Aurangabad and Khandesh, he learnt that Khandu, with eight or nine thousand horse, was near the confines of Baglana and Galna, seventy *kos* from Aurangabad. He was anxious to attack him, but Khandu made an ignominious flight, and led Zu-l fikar Beg towards thorny and difficult jungles. For all the scouts reported that there was no good opportunity of engaging the enemy, Zu-l fikar Beg, proud of his own courage, and seconded by the advice of some ignorant men of Barha, paid no heed to their reports, but attacked Khandu. At the first attack many of the enemy were killed; but Khandu, according to Dakhini practice, took to flight, drawing after him in pursuit four or five hundred well-mounted horse. Having thus dispersed the army of the Barhas, he suddenly faced round, and falling upon Zu-l fikar Beg with a large force, he closed the way by which support could be rendered to the scattered horse, and attacked so fiercely that the army of Islam was in hard straits. Zu-l fikar Beg and a number of his brave followers were killed. Of the rest of the army, those who wished to save their lives, threw themselves from their horses, laid down their arms, and were taken prisoners alive. Those who resisted were all put to the sword. It is

[1] In the Text the name is read as "Pahariya" or "Daphariya." Grant Duff calls him "Khande Rao Dhabaray."—Vol. i, p. 443.

commonly said that not one bullock, camel or horse belonging to that army was saved.

Amiru-l umara Husain 'Ali sent Raja Muhakkim Singh, his *diwan*, with a suitable force, to punish Khandu. He also directed his own brother Saifu-d din 'Ali Khan, *subadar* of Burhanpur, to support the Raja. Saifu-d din had gone out of Burhanpur towards Sultanpur and Nandurbar for settling the country. These two famous chiefs pursued Khandu, in the hope of retaliating upon him, or of removing his posts, so that they might no longer trouble the country and people of Khandesh. But they accomplished nothing. Khandu bided his time, and went to Raja Sahu, who was in a secure fortress. His garrisons, which were posted in various places, held their ground. Whenever the army of *Amir-l umara* approached, their force fled, and as soon as it had departed, they returned and reoccupied their positions. Muhakkim Singh succeeded in engaging some other Mahratta forces which were plundering in the vicinity of Ahmadnagar and drove them under the walls of the fort of Sattara. They were, however, unable to exact revenge from Khandu for the death of Zu-l fikar Beg, and the destruction of his army.

The fact of the disagreement between the Emperor and the Saiyids was well known from the *farmans* and orders which had been sent secretly to Raja Sahu, the *diwans* and the chief *zamindars* of Karnatik, desiring them not to obey Husain 'Ali Khan. They had accordingly showed resistance, and no settlement of Bijapur and Haidarabad had been effected.

Eighth Year of the Reign, 1130 A.H. (A.D. 1718)

The Mahrattas

(Text, vol. ii, p. 781.) The Emperor Aurangzeb, having resolved upon the reduction of the fortresses of the Dakhin, spent long time and great treasure in the work. He took the forts of Sattara, Parnala, Rajgarh, and others, thirty,

or forty in number, all fortresses of strength and repute, and deprived the Mahrattas of house and home. The chiefs of this race of robbers, knowing that the Imperial territory was now vacant, and the Emperor far away, showed greater boldness than in former years. With large armies they invaded the *subas* of the Dakhin, and Ahmadabad, and Malwa, for the purpose of collecting the *chauth*, and they plundered and ravaged wherever they went. To cities and large towns they sent messengers and letters, demanding payment of the *chauth* from the governor or *zamindar*. Or the *mukhaddams* and *zamindars* of the towns and villages hastened out to meet the Mahratta army, undertaking to pay the *chauth*, and begged for protection. Taking back with them a messenger (*harkara*) and a horseman to protect the village and the cultivation instead of showing their total rent to be one or two thousand (rupees), they made it out to be four or five hundred. But whatever sum was settled, they promised payment, and gave sureties, called *ol* in the language of India. They thus saved themselves from violence and plunder.

When the *faujdars* or *zamindars* of a place refused to pay the *chauth*, and made no propositions, the Mahrattas attacked the place and thoroughly ravaged it. If, after investing a place for some days, they found themselves unable to take it, they moved away. In this way the towns of Nandurbar, Sultanpur, Jamud, and many other well-known towns of Burhanpur, Birar, and other *subas* of the Dakhin, were invested by twenty-eight thousand horsemen for two or three weeks, who were finally beaten off.

The Mahrattas treated caravans just in the same way, and many were plundered. The commanders of their bands did their best to settle the amount of *chauth* to be paid, and were not willing to pillage. Their men, on the contrary, strove to prevent any arrangement of the *chauth*, so that they might be free to plunder. For, if an agreement was arrived at, and the *chauth* was settled without plundering, it belonged to the chiefs, and the men got nothing. But, if it came to plundering, each man kept what he could lay hands upon, and the chiefs did not gain so much.

Towards the end of the reign of Aurangzeb, Rani Tara Bai, widow of Ram Raja, kept up a state of warfare with the Emperor for ten or twelve years after her husband's death. She then offered to make peace upon condition of receiving a grant of the *sar-deshmukhi* of the six *subas* of the Dakhin, at the rate of nine per cent. For the honour of Islam, and for other reasons, Aurangzeb rejected this proposal.

In the reign of Bahadur Shah the *vakils* of Raja Sahu and the Rani made proposals, and obtained a grant of the *sar-deshmukhi*, upon certain conditions, which have been stated in the history of that reign. But differences arose between the Rani and Raja Sahu, so that Bahadur Shah's intentions were never carried out. Neither did the arrangement as to the *sar-deshmukhi* take effect. In the time of Daud Khan, while he was acting as deputy of Zul-l fikar Khan, a treaty and friendly agreement was made between him and the enemy, in which it was stipulated that the *jagirs* of the princes and Daud Khan should not be molested; but that as regarded the remaining tenures of the great nobles, Daud Khan's deputy, Hiraman, should arrange for the payment of the *chauth*. Caravans were not to be molested. So they simmered together like milk and sugar, and matters went on without[1] hitch or evasion.

The government of Nizamu-l Mulk, as we have recorded, began in peace, and ended with war, which lasted for one year and five months, and inflicted chastisement upon the enemy. Two or three years of Husain 'Ali Khan's government passed in quarrels with the Emperor, so that, although he raised a large army, he could not show the vigour that was necessary, nor effect such a settlement as he himself desired and the character of the Saiyids of Barha required. In the year 1130 A.H., acting upon the advice of Anwar Khan, one of the *shaikh-zadas* of Burhanpur, who was patronised by the Saiyids, and upon the counsel of other trusted nobles, he availed himself of the services of a Brahman named Sankaraji. This man had been one of the principal servants of Sivaji and Sambhaji, and in their

[1] The Text says "with," but the context seems clear.

confidence. After the conquest of Jinji, he entered the Imperial service, and acted as *vakil* of those Mahratta chiefs who had submitted and of some who had not. He was not wanting in the intelligence which is helped by fortune.

Through Balaji Bishwanath and Jamnaji, *brahmans*, and most intelligent generals of Raja Sahu, a proposal of peace was made on these terms. There was to be paid to the officers of Raja Sahu a fourth part of what the *amins*, *kroris*, and *shikkdars* collected as land-revenue, and as *sair* from the government lands and from the *jagirdars*. It was also settled that, in addition to the fourth share which they were to get from the receipts of the *jagirdars*, they were to receive from the *raiyats* ten per cent. as *sar-deshmukhi*. Altogether they were to receive thirty-five per cent. upon the total collections, (and also) upon the *abwabs* called *faujdari*, *shikkdari*, *ziyafat*, and other charges, as shown in the gross account of the collections. According to this account they were to receive nearly half the total revenue recorded in the government rent-roll, and (the collections) were thus shared by the domineering collectors of Raja Sahu. This arrangement, by which they were to collect all taxes, fell very hard upon the *raiyats*, and the government officers and *jagirdars;* for in every district there were two collectors—one called the *kamaishdar*, the other the *gumashta* of the *sar-deshmukhi*. On the roll of the collections the signature of the *sarrishtadar* of the *sar-deshmukhi* was first placed, and what was required by the rules on that account was to be taken separately.[1] The position and life of the officers of government and of the *jagirdars* became (irksome).

Besides these, there were two separate collectors of the *rahdari* (road duties) in each district. In consequence of the negligence of the *faujdars* and the dominance of the enemy, these had for some time taken their positions in different places, and exacted half a rupee, or one rupee, for each bullock and cart, from merchants, and whatever they pleased from other persons. They exacted twice or three times more than (the most) tyrannical *faujdars*. Now also,

[1] The meaning is here obscure.

since the days of the peace, the former grievance remained but it was aggravated by more taking part in it. In the present state of things there were in each district three regular collectors of Raja Sahu, with parties of horsemen and footmen stationed at the office, the guard-house where the land-revenue, the *sair*, and the tolls were collected.

Besides these there were in many places villages which had been laid waste by the Mahrattas, and which had been again brought into cultivation under special agreements, such as the districts about Nandurbar, in Khandesh, in Birar, and in other places. They paid no heed to the special contracts made by Husain 'Ali Khan; but, conceding the third share belonging to the *jagirdar*, they made the following arrangement. They recognised three shares; one was for the *jagirdar*, one they took themselves, and the third they left to the *raiyats*. In revenue and civil matters the orders and the action of the enemy prevailed over the authority of the *faujdars* and *jagirdars*. At the time of the peace Husain 'Ali Khan determined, and issued strict injunctions that the *rahdari* should not be exacted, as in the days before the peace, from merchants and travellers at the rate of three (rupees) or four upon each bullock and cart, as if *faujdars* and harsh officials were acting. But it was no good. In several districts there was no longer any plundering of villages and caravans; but, as in former days, travellers and wanderers paid the *rahdari*, and went on in peace without interruption. Villages which had been ravaged by plunderers, or made completely desolate by the tyranny of rapacious managers, were now restored to cultivation.

Husain 'Ali delivered a *sanad* containing the conditions of peace, under his seal, to the *vakils* of Raja Sahu, and made no delay in writing for a royal *farman* confirmatory of this document. He introduced the agents of Raja Sahu everywhere, and he settled that Balaji Bishwanath and Jamnaji, two of the highest officers of Raja Sahu, should stay with a suitable escort in Aurangabad as deputy and *vakil* of the Raja, so that all civil and revenue matters might be settled through them.

Transactions at Court

(Text, vol. ii, p. 790.) Husain 'Ali Khan's letter communicating the terms of the peace, and asking for a confirmatory *farman,* reached the Emperor. Several well-wishers of the State urged that it was not well to admit the vile enemy to be overbearing partners in matters of revenue and government. So Farrukh Siyar rejected the treaty. [*The Emperor makes several appointments to the Dakhin which Husain 'Ali does not carry into effect.*] The news from the Dakhin increased the annoyance of the Emperor.

In these evil days there was at Court a Kashmiri of low origin, named Muhammad Murad, an idle babbler of disreputable character, who was the common talk of everybody, high and low. In the reign of Bahadur Shah he had obtained, through the interest of Jahandar Shah, a *mansab* of 1,000 and the title of Wakalat Khan.... He was introduced to Farrukh Siyar, and, availing himself of the opportunity,... he obtained such an ascendency over him that in a short time he received the title of *Ruknu-d daula I'tikad Khan Farrukh Shahi,* and an increase of his jagir from 1,000 to 7,000 and 10,000 horse. He became the Emperor's confidential adviser, and joined in recommending the overthrow of the rule of the Saiyids of Barha. Not a day passed without his receiving jewels of great value, ornamented weapons, dresses, or some great gift.

It was now resolved that Sarbuland Khan should be recalled from Patna, and Nizamu-l Mulk Fath Jang Bahadur from Muradabad, where he had chastised the rebels, and restored the district to peace and security. Raja Ajit Singh was also sent for from Ahmadabad. Hopes of high promotion and royal favour were held out to them, and they all conspired together for the overthrow of the Barha Saiyids. The strangest part of the matter was that when Nizamu-l Mulk was recalled from Muradabad, he received no other appointment; but the *jagir* which he there held was taken from him, the name of Muradabad was changed to Ruknabad, it was erected into a distinct *suba,* and the *subadari* and the *jagir* were granted as an *altamgha* to Ruknu-d daula I'tikad Khan. When these nobles

assembled, Raja Ajit Singh received the title of *Maharaja* and other honours, but he became the ally and companion of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan.

Nizamu-l Mulk and Sarbuland Khan were at first led to expect the appointments of *wazir* and *mir-bakhshi*. The Emperor spoke to them both about removing the obnoxious minister Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan from office, and they replied, "Your Majesty can give the portfolio of *wazir* to whichever of us you deem most capable; and if Saiyid 'Abdu-llah shows any resistance after his removal, he shall be brought to punishment." The Emperor replied, "I know of no person more fit for the post of *wazir* than I'tikad Khan." Every exalted noble of Iran and of Turan, when he heard that it was the Emperor's design to bestow the important office of *wazir*, with every sign of partiality, upon such a prating, base-born, infamous person, felt the greatest disgust. They were heart-broken, but they were not disposed to obey and submit to I'tikad Khan.

In the midst of this uneasy feeling, the *'I'd-i fitr* occurred, and nearly seventy thousand horse and foot went in the royal procession to the *'I'd-gah*. There was great apprehension among all classes, in expectation that Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan was about to be made prisoner. On that day Saiyid 'Abdu-llah had not with him more than four or five thousand horse.... After this Saiyid 'Abdu-llah began to enlist soldiers. In former days he entertained few except Saiyids of Barha, because he had full reliance on their courage and devotion; but he now gave orders for the enlistment of twenty thousand men of all tribes.

When this disturbing intelligence reached *Amiru-l umara* Husain 'Ali in the Dakhin, his apprehensions were aroused, and he resolved to proceed to Court. But before doing so he resolved upon another plan, and... wrote to Court for information. Afterwards he received intelligence that peace had been made between the Emperor and Saiyid 'Abdu-llah; that Raja Ajit Singh, who had been called to Court, had received the hereditary title of *Maharaja* and other royal favours, through the help and countenance of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah; that, although his daughter was affianced

to the Emperor, he was in close accord and intimacy with the Saiyid, and that a strict and lasting agreement of amity had been made between them.

At the end of the month of Shawwal, the Emperor, in accord with I'tikad Khan, *Khan-dauran*, and other well-disposed nobles, went to the house of *Kutbu-l Mulk* Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, to pay him a visit. They then made friends together, swore to an absence of animosity, and mutually made excuses for past behaviour, and for the ill feelings that had been entertained. The Emperor then returned. Ikhlas Khan, an old and devoted friend of the two brothers, was sent to the Dakhin, to give a feeling of assurance to *Amiru-l umara*.

NINTH[1] YEAR OF THE REIGN, 1131 A.H. (A.D. 1719)

(Text, vol. ii, p. 749.) The opinions and resolutions of the Emperor never remained steady to one course. Now he was resolved upon peace and amity, and now upon the degradation recommended by evil counsellors.... Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan had engaged nearly twenty thousand men, and day by day the dissension and rupture between him and the Emperor grew wider.... Letters arrived from *Husain 'Ali*, representing his wish to come to Court, and complaining that the climate of the Dakhin did not agree with him.... On the other hand, letters reached him from his brother urging him to come quickly to Court. So, on the 15th Shawwal, in the seventh (*sic*) year of the reign, he sent forward his brother, Saifu-d din 'Ali Khan, with four or five thousand horse, as an advance force, to Burhanpur, with directions to collect the materials of war and artillery.

Amiru-l umara Husain 'Ali received many letters in succession from his brother, *Kutbu-l Mulk* Saiyid 'Abdu-llah. At the end of Zi-l hijja, he left Aurangabad, and,

[1] The *Tazkira-i Chaghatai* reckons it as the eighth year. A "ninth year" is manifestly wrong, and inconsistent with Khafi Khan's own statement, that the length of the reign was "six years and four months." Adding the eleven months of the reign of Jahandar, which he tells us were officially reckoned as part of the reign, the "eighth year" would be reached.

after halting a week for making necessary arrangements, at the beginning of Muharram, 1131[1] Hijra, having put his artillery in order, and done his best to secure the good-will of the *amirs* and the Mahrattas, he with ... commenced his march upon Dehli.... He placed the fort of Malhir, ... the fort of Salir, and two or three other forts, in charge of men of his own.... Nearly sixteen thousand Mahrattas marched with him under the command of Khandu Daphariya, who was one of the best generals of Raja Sahu, and was his *subadar* of Khandesh. Santa, and several other Mahratta chiefs, went with him.... On the 22nd Muharram, he marched from Burhanpur, and went on until he crossed the Nerbadda at Akbarpur, where he met Ikhlas Khan, who had been sent from Court to re-assure him, and prevent his march.... They had an interview near the fort of Mandu, ... and Husain 'Ali became more eager than before to reach the capital.... On the 14th Safar he reached Ujjain. Here he heard, from the *Faujdar* of Gwalior [*of the pacification and oaths of amity between the Emperor and Saiyid 'Abdu-llah*]. Then, in open *darbar*, he said, "If the Emperor no longer retains any animosity and rancour against us, and will deal with us kindly and without malice, we have no other desire but to prove our obedience and loyalty. After paying my homage, and re-assuring myself about sundry matters, I will quickly return to the Dakhin." ... But on the second or third day after, Husain 'Ali Khan heard from trustworthy and confidential correspondents how the private talk was that the Emperor's proceedings were merely devices and snares that he was weaving to catch fools.

Other letters also informed Saiyid Husain 'Ali that Sarbuland Khan, in consequence of the resumption of his *jagir*, and the transfer of his prosperous lands to Mir Jumla, and through want of money, inability to pay his soldiers, and pressing demands, had retired from service, resigned his *mansab*, and had given up his elephants, horses, and household effects to his creditors, with the intention of becoming

[1] Scott agrees with this date, but the *Siyaru-l Muta-akhkhirin* makes it 1132; see Briggs, p. 164.

a religious mendicant. Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan, having heard of this, went to him and endeavoured to console him. He furnished him with money, elephants, and horses, and appointed him *subadar* of Kabul, thus binding him to him by the obligations of kindness. Nizamu-l Mulk also, through the hard usage of times favourable only to the base, was called from Muradabad, with the expectation of being made *wazir*, but his office and his *jagir* were given to I'tikad Khan. He was disgusted and burnt with rage against the worthless (favourite). Saiyid 'Abdu-llah did his best to console him, and promised him the *subadari* of Malwa. I'timadu-d daula, who had come to Court without leave or order, fell into disgrace, and was deprived of his *mansab*. Saiyid 'Abdu-llah consoled him also. He likewise won over fortune-seekers by rendering them assistance, and inquiring about their affairs. Khan-dauran, who from the beginning had been reckoned as an associate of Mir Jumla, and one of the Emperor's friends, was also brought over to the side of the minister.

It was now announced that the Emperor was going out hunting on a certain day, and that as he returned he would pay a visit to Saiyid 'Abdu-llah. Maharaja Ajit Singh, although he was father-in-law to the Emperor, had become a firm ally of the minister. His house was situated in the road leading to Saiyid 'Abdu-llah's, and the Emperor had determined that, when his escort reached the Maharaja's house, he would make him prisoner, although he might come out to offer his *nazar* and pay his respects. But although this resolve was confined to the Emperor's own heart, Ajit Singh was alarmed and suspicious, for "traitors are fearful," and before the Emperor returned he took refuge in the house of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah.

The Emperor was returning in a boat, and was about to proceed to the house of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, as he had determined. But he learned of Ajit Singh's having sought protection in the house of that noble, which greatly annoyed him; and when he came near the house, he changed his intention, and ordered the boat to be rowed quickly onwards. His suite and equipage went to the house, and the *wazir*

went forth as far as the bank of the river to meet him, but he repaired to his palace in the fort.

(Text, vol. ii, p. 804.) [*March of Husain 'Ali Khan.*] At the end of the month Rabi'u-l awwal, at the beginning of the eighth year of the reign, Husain 'Ali Khan approached Dehli and encamped near the *lat* of Firoz Shah, two or three *kos* from the city. There he showed his rebellious designs by ordering his drums to be beaten loudly in defiance; for it is contrary to all rule for (a subject's) drums to be beaten near the residence of the Emperor. Complaining of the Emperor, he entered his tents, and repeatedly said that he no longer reckoned himself among the servants of the monarch. "I will maintain the honour of my race, and care neither for loss of my *mansab*, nor for royal censure."

But the strangest thing was that the heedless Emperor —although he heard the sounds of the hostile drums and trumpets, which rose so boldly and publicly—and although at the sound of the drum other drums in every street and market beat to arms—even then he did not come to his senses. All resolution and prudence was cast aside. Now raging with anger, he rolled up his sleeves (for action), threatening vengeance against the two brothers; now taking a conciliatory turn, he sat behind the curtain of dissimulation, and opened the door of amity upon the face of enmity.

Rajadhiraj (Jai Singh), who raised his voice in favour of unanimous action and the punishment of the rebels, met with no success. The devoted nobles, of the stocks of 'Arab and of 'Ajam,[1] felt that they had no power of themselves to beat the drums of war and bloodshed, and this was particularly the case with the Mughals, who knew all about the matter. No one had the force to speak a friendly word to him whose head was muffled. At the sight of this change of fortune, of the progress of the rebellion of the two ministers, and of the supineness and want of perception in the Emperor, men lost all heart, and many, taking their cue from him, went to wait upon Saiyid Husain 'Ali.

[1] The author, and other writers of his time, are fond of referring to the lands to which many of the nobles owed their origin, "*Iran o Turan*," "*'Arab o 'Ajam.*"

Four or five days after the arrival of Husain 'Ali, his brother Saiyid 'Abdu-llah made a statement of his brother's grievances, and said that if Raja Jai Singh, the disturbing spirit, were sent home to his country, and if the nominations to the artillery, and to the office of President of the Privy Council, and the appointments of the Emperor's personal attendants, were made in favour of Husain 'Ali's adherents, and if the fortress were placed under his control, then he would come without any apprehension to pay his homage, and all might be settled to the satisfaction of the two brothers. The poor dull-witted Emperor, unmindful of the deceitfulness of delusive fortune, granted the demands of the Saiyids. He consented to give over the entire control of the appointments to Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, the other Saiyids of Barha, and their supporters; I'tikad Khan and other of his favourites were to be dismissed.

On the 3rd Rabi'u-l akhir, Rajadhiraj, under an order which did not allow of a day's delay, left Dehli for Amber, his home.... On the 5th, Saiyid 'Abdu-llah and Maharaja Ajit Singh, with their followers, entered the citadel, and, removing the Emperor's men from the gates, they made their own dispositions, and placed their own men in charge. Of all the great men near the Emperor, none were left near him or near the gates of the fortress, except I'tikad Khan, Imtiyaz Khan, registrar (*mushrif*) of the Privy Council, whose absence or presence made no difference, Zafar Khan, who, for his complaisance and time-serving, was called, "the pea in every soup," and some helpless attendants and eunuchs.

Amiru-l umara Husain 'Ali, with regal pomp and display, mounted his horse, and entered the fort, around which his army, and that of the Mahrattas, had taken post. He paid his homage. After that, a few sad and admonitory words were exchanged. The *Amir* received the usual presents of robes, etc., with an unwilling heart, and, showing scant ceremony, returned to his abode. On the 8th day of the month the Saiyids for the second time took measures to secure the fort. *Kutbu-l Mulk* Saiyid 'Abdu-llah and the Maharaja, with their trusted followers and a select force,

entered the fortress, and, as before, they removed the royal servants, placed the charge of the gates under their own trusty men, and demanded the keys of the *diwan-i khass*, the sleeping apartment and the hall of justice....

Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan went to the distracted Emperor Farrukh Siyar, along with Ajit Singh, and poured forth his grievances. He said,[1] "In return for all our services to you and your ancestors, we have received nothing from you, ungrateful King, but evil thoughts and suspicions and treacherous designs. We have, as proofs of our words, the *farmans*, which you sent to the irreligious Daud Khan Afghan, and other miscreants in the Dakhin, directing them to oppose and slay your faithful servant (Husain 'Ali Khan).... Our fears and suspicions will not be removed until the control over all the great offices shall be placed in our hands." The bewildered Emperor made some excuses and promises; but the talk went on to a great length, and many bitter and offensive things were said. The Emperor got angry and was unable to restrain himself further. He first said a few words condemning I'tikad Khan, who was in fact the prime cause of the mischief, and then he censured Saiyid 'Abdu-llah. I'tikad Khan made some foolish statements, excusing himself; but both he and the Emperor had lost all control over themselves. Saiyid 'Abdu-llah then interfered, and, abusing I'tikad Khan, he allowed him no retort, but ordered him to be turned out of the fortress.... All round and about the fortress the cries of strife arose, and the Emperor, feeling his reverse of fortune, went into the female apartments.....

That night all the city was full of dread and helplessness. The soldiers of the two brothers were posted fully armed in all the streets and markets, and no one knew what was passing in the fort, or what would happen. Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, Raja Ajit Singh, and their chief supporters held counsel together, not knowing what the morn would bring forth; but they took such precautions everywhere as seemed necessary. The Mahratta chiefs, Khandu Dapharîya, Balaji Bishwanath, Santa, and others, with their

[1] Abridged translation.

ten or eleven thousand men, passed the night under arms, not knowing what would happen, but ready for disturbance and plunder....

Reports of all kinds, false and true, spread abroad. One was that Saiyid 'Abdu-llah had been killed. Other alarming rumours flew about. I'tikad Khan and some other nobles, reckless as to the consequences, were about to take horse and proceed to oppose *Amiru-l umara*, when the news came of the approach of his cavalcade, and of the banners of I'timadu-d daula Muhammad Amin Khan and Chin Kalich Khan being in sight; for the latter, in his crafty politic way, had left his house to join *Amiru-l umara*. There was no conflict or struggle with the Mahrattas; for, before things had come to that pass, fourteen or fifteen horsemen, in the service of Khan-dauran, who were called "Blanket-wearers," shot a few arrows against the Mahrattas, when the whole of their force was seized with panic and took to flight. . . . The idlers and vagabonds of the *bazar* and the unemployed Mughals, hearing of this flight, drew their swords and fell to killing and plundering. A thousand to fifteen hundred Mahrattas, horse and foot, were killed, including Santa, a chief of note, and two or three other leaders. I'tikad Khan, with some of his companions, went into the *chauk* of Sa'du-llah near his own house, made some attacks, and threw up barricades. But his movement was ill-timed, and, being alarmed at what he had done, he went and surrendered himself prisoner.

The tumult was still high when the drums proclaimed the accession of Abu-l Barakat Rafi'u-d Darajat, and a declaration of amnesty was also published. . . . The people were desirous to get a message sent in by artifice to Farrukh Siyar, and to bring him out of the palace, but they were unsuccessful. The women, the Abyssinians, the Turks, all prepared to fight. At length some Afghans and attendants (*chelas*), backed up by Najmu-d din 'Ali Khan, younger brother of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, and some other traitors, entered the palace. After much search, Farrukh Siyar was found hidden in a corner of the roof, to which

they got a hint from some of the women. They dragged him out with great indignity. His mother, wife, sister, and other ladies, who were near the unfortunate monarch, cried and wailed, and threw themselves at the feet of the Afghans and *chelas*, beseeching and entreating them. At length the conspirators dragged him away from the women, and, having blinded him, they placed him in confinement in a room at the top of the *tirpauliya* in the fort.[1] This was a small and narrow room like a grave, which had been used for keeping prisoners destined for the torture. In this corner of sorrow and grief they left him, with nothing but a ewer, a vessel for the necessities of nature, and a glass to drink out of.

The troublous reign of the late Farrukh Siyar, the *Shahid* (martyr), lasted for six years and four months, without counting the eleven months of the reign of Jahandar, which were reckoned as part of his reign, and so entered in the royal records.[2]

The Short Reign of a Few Days of Abu-l Barakat Rafi'u-d Darajat, Fourteenth in Descent from Amir Timur

(Text, vol. ii, p. 816.) After the poor injured Emperor had been set aside, the same confusion and trouble prevailed, both inside and outside the palace. On the 9th Rabi-ul akhir, 1131[3] A.H. (18th February, 1719), Shamsu-d din Abu-l Barakat Rafi'u-d Darajat, younger son of Rafi'u-sh Shan, and grandson of Bahadur Shah, the eldest son of Aurangzeb, was made Emperor. He was twenty years of age when he was brought out of confinement, and the noise and confusion was so great and general, that there was not even time to send him to the bath, or change his clothes. In the same garments he was wearing,

[1] The *Tazkira-i Chaghatai* is in general accord with this. It adds that the room was the same as that in which Jahandar Shah was murdered.

[2] A note in the printed text says that eight MSS. agree in this.

[3] The *Siyaru-l Muta-akhkhirin* makes the date 1132, and is generally a year in advance.—Briggs, p. 182.

with only a pearl necklace thrown upon his neck for ornament, he was placed upon the throne. His accession and a general amnesty were proclaimed to stay the tumult. *Kutbu-l Mulk* Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, after offering his congratulations, placed his partisans and faithful servants inside the fortress. Over the doors of the public and private council chambers, and in every place, he stationed men of his own party. The eunuchs, the personal attendants, and all the servants of any importance, were men of his own.

In the council of the first day, in accordance with the desire of Raja Ajit Singh, and of the bigoted Raja Ratan Chand, an order was passed for the abolition of the *jizya*, and assurances of security and protection were circulated all over the country. I'tikad Khan was sent to prison with every mark of ignominy; his *jagir* was taken away, and his house was seized. Notwithstanding it had been disturbed, it was found to be full of jewels, cash, gold, objects of art, and vessels of silver; and an investigation was ordered for the discovery and recovery of the jewels and pearls he had received as presents. . . . I'timadu-d daula Amin Khan was confirmed as *Bakhshi*. The *subadari* of Patna was given to Nizamu-l Mulk Bahadur Fath Jang.

Two months had passed since the late Emperor had been placed in confinement. In that room he had endured all kinds of tortures, and passed his days in the deepest trouble. It is reported that the blinding operation had not entirely destroyed his sight, and in his stupidity and love of power, which destroys the lives and integrity of so many thousands, he sent messages to the rulers of the State, excusing himself for the actions of past days, and spoke of again sitting upon the throne and of directing the affairs of State with the two brothers. An Afghan, named 'Abdu-llah Khan, had been placed as a guard over him in his living tomb. He ingratiated himself with this Afghan, promised him a *mansab* of 7,000, and consulted with him as to the way of escaping to Maharajadhiraj Jai Singh, which he looked upon as the only means of safety. The

Afghan, having discovered the captive's intentions, made them known to the ministers, and the Saiyids, urged on by their friends, determined to take way his life. Poison was twice administered without effect. On the second or third occasion when it affected him, and for all the cruelty death did not come quickly, he thought upon the harshness of the two brothers, and how they had acted in defiance of the solemn oaths they had given to him. Unable to control himself, he used bitter words against them, and asked how it was that no punishment had fallen upon these two faithless oath-breakers. Words were uttered which ought not to have been spoken. The two brothers were told of this, and they ordered that he should be got rid of quickly by strangling. When the thong was thrown upon his neck, he seized it with both his hands, and struggled violently with hands and feet; but the executioners beat his hands with sticks, and made him leave go his hold. There is a common report that daggers and knives were used in that desperate struggle, but from what the author has heard no such weapons were used.[1]

The coffin was borne to the tomb of Humayun, and was accompanied by two or three thousand men and women, chiefly the vagabonds and mendicants of the city who had partaken of his bounty. They cried and groaned, tore their clothes, threw dust upon their heads, and scattered their abuse. The *bakhshis* of Husain 'Ali Khan and Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan were ordered to attend the funeral, and did so with several principal men of the city. Stones were cast at them. No one would take the bread or copper coins which were offered in charity. On the third day some vagabonds and beggars met, cooked food, and distributed it among the poor, and remained assembled all night.[2]

Report says that the two brothers took possession of, and selected for themselves, whatever they pleased of the

[1] "He was 38 years of age; and the period of his reign, reckoning from his assumption of royalty at Patna, was seven years one month and nine days; from his victory over Jahandar Shah, it was six years three months and twenty-four days."—*Tazkira-i Chaghatai.*

[2] Scott quotes this passage in his *History of the Dekkan.*

royal treasure, jewels, works of art, elephants and horses. Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan was very fond of women, and the common talk was that two or three of the late King's beauties pleased him, and he took them to himself, although, for the gratification of his lust and desires, he had seventy or eighty beautiful women.

The brotherly love which had existed between the two brothers now turned to hatred and to jealousy of each other's power. Although the reins of power in civil matters pertaining to the office of *wazir* were in the hands of the elder brother, the younger, *Amiru-l umara* Husain 'Ali, was a brave, experienced, generous and proud man, whose equal it was hard to find. He had drawn to himself, by his kindness and generosity, most of the brave and able nobles, and he was getting into his hands a control over all the government of the country. So it was said that there were contentions between the brothers.

On the 9th Jumada-l akhir, 1131, the soldiers at Agra brought out of confinement in the fort, and raised to the sovereignty a person named Neku Siyar,[1] a son of Prince Muhammad Akbar, and grandson of Aurangzeb. His accession was announced by peals of cannon, and coins of gold and silver were struck in his name.

(Text, vol. ii, p. 829.) The Emperor Rafi'u-d Darajat was suffering from consumption (*dikk*). The physicians, under the orders of the Saiyids, did all they could to cure him, but without success. This monarch had not the slightest control in matters of Government.[2] Sorrow increased his illness, and he became so helpless that the two brothers

[1] The text goes on to explain that when Prince Akbar quarrelled with his father Aurangzeb, this young Prince and two of his sisters were detained. The daughters were married to two sons of Bahadur Shah; but Neku Siyar was kept in prison forty years. Maharajadhiraj Jai Singh and Nizamu-l Mulk were said to have favoured this attempt to make Neku Siyar Emperor; but Khafi Khan, in contradiction, says that Nizamu-l Mulk strove to hinder it.

[2] "Rafi'u-d Darajat took no part in State business, the entire authority was in the hands of his cruel *wazir* and his brother."—*Tazkira-i Chaghatai.*

considered as to which of the imprisoned princes should be named successor. Rafi'u-d Darajat said that if, in his lifetime, the *khutba* were read, and coins struck in the name of his elder brother, Rafi'u-d Daula, it would be a great kindness, and very acceptable to him. The Saiyids consented. Three days after Rafi'u-d Daula ascended the throne, Rafi'u-d Darajat died. He had reigned six months and ten days.

Rafi'u-d Daula, entitled Shah Jahan the Second, Fourteenth in Descent from, and Seventeenth King in Succession to, Amir Timur

(Text, vol. ii, p. 831.) On the 20th Rajab, 1131[1] A.H. (27th May, A.D. 1719), Rafi'u-d Daula, who was one year and a half older than his brother Rafi'u-d Darajat, was raised to the throne with the title of Shah Jahan the Second. Matters went on just as before, for, excepting that the coins were struck and the *khutba* read in his name, he had no part in the Government of the country. He was surrounded by creatures of *Kutbu-l Mulk*, and, as to going out or staying at home, holding a Court, or choosing his food and raiment, he was under the direction of Himmat Khan. He was not allowed to go to the mosque on Friday, or to go hunting, or to talk to any of the *amirs*, without the presence of one of the Saiyids or his guardian. (Vol. ii, p. 832.) *Amiru-l umara* Husain 'Ali sent Haider Kuli Khan with a force in advance against Agra, and on the 7th Sha'ban, he himself set out for that city with... an army of about 25,000 men..... Rajadhiraj Jai Singh, with a force of nine or ten thousand horse, and others whom he had collected, was waiting one march from Amber for Raja Chhabila Ram (*to go and join Neku Siyar*). *Kutbu-l Mulk* Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, in consequence of the rumours that were afloat, taking the Emperor with him, marched, at the end of Sha'ban, with Maharaja Ajit Singh, and other *amirs*, and an army of upwards of thirty thousand horse, from Dehli towards Agra, and against Jai Singh.

[1] The *Tazkira-i Chaghatai* is in accord; the *Siyaru-l Mutaakhkhirin* makes it a year later.

At this time Maharaja Ajit Singh took back the Maharani, his daughter, who had been married to Farrukh Siyar, with all her jewels and treasure and valuables, amounting to a *kror* of rupees in value. According to report he made her throw off her Musulman dress, dismissed her Muhammadan attendants, and sent her to her native country. In the reign of no former Emperor had any Raja been so presumptuous as to take his daughter after she had been married to a King and admitted to the honour of Islam.

The fort of Agra was invested, lines of approach were formed, and batteries raised. When Husain 'Ali Khan arrived, the cannonade began, and many houses inside and outside the fort were destroyed. The siege went on for three months.

The rainy season caused Saiyid 'Abdu-llah to delay in his march against Jai Singh; but he reached Mathura, within ten *kos* of which place Jai Singh was awaiting the arrival of Raja Chhabila Ram and other allies. When the Raja found that none of his expected supporters arrived, he sent *vakils* to beg forgiveness for the offence he had committed.

Neku Siyar had a *munshi* named Nath Mal. At the invitation of some crafty men among the besiegers, he came out of the fort to conduct them to Neku Siyar. But these men made him prisoner, and took him to *Amiru-l umara*. In his portfolio were found several letters addressed by *amirs* in the besieging army to Neku Siyar, ... but the amir thought it desirable to hush this matter up. The provisions in the fort were falling short, and the defenders were in despair. A proposal to surrender was accepted, and an assurance of safety to life and honour was given. The keys were given up, Agra was secured on the 27th Ramazan, and Neku Siyar and his supporters were made prisoners. Mitr Sen, who had set this revolt on foot, knowing that there was no hope of mercy for him, but that he would be put to death with ignominy, killed himself with a dagger.

After the fall of the fortress, *Amiru-l umara* Husain 'Ali took possession of the treasure, jewels, and valuables which had accumulated there in the course of three or four hundred years from the days of Sikandar Lodi and Babar Badshah, and were stored away in the store-rooms. There were the effects of Nur Jahan Begam and Mumtaz Mahal, ... amounting in value, according to various reports, to two or three *krors* of rupees. There was in particular the sheet of pearls which Shah Jahan had caused to be made for the tomb of Mumtaz Mahal, which was spread over it upon the anniversary of her marriage, and on Friday nights. There was the ewer of Nur Jahan, and her cushion of woven gold and rich pearls, with a border of valuable garnets and emeralds. The elder brother, 'Abdu-llah Khan, got nothing of all this, till, after four months, twenty-one *lacs* of rupees were grudgingly surrendered to him.[1]

Rajadhiraj (Jai Singh) sent his *vakils* to offer his apologies and make peace. . . . It was eventually arranged that the *faujdari* of Surat, in the *suba* of Ahmadabad, should be held by Jai Singh, and the *subadaris* of Ahmadabad and Ajmir, including Jodpur, should continue under Raja Ajit Singh. Under this arrangement the two *rajas* held all the country from thirty *kos* of Dehli, where the native land of Jai Singh begins, to the shores of the sea at Surat.

Shah Jahan the Second died of dysentery and mental disorder, after a reign of three months and some days.

Muhammad Shah Badshah, formerly called Roshan Akhtar, Fourteenth in Descent and Sixteenth[2] in Succession to Amir Timur

(Text, vol. ii, p. 839.) Rafi'u-d Daula had reigned only three months and two days when it became known that his death was near at hand. Saiyid 'Abdu-llah was in despair,

[1] "The quarrel between the two brothers about the treasures of Agra was settled by the intervention of Ratan Chand *bakkal*."—*Tazkira-i Chaghatai*.

[2] The reigns of his two predecessors were not counted.

and he sent from Fathpur to bring Prince Muhammad Roshan Akhtar, son of the late Jahan Shah, and grandson of Aurangzeb, then only eighteen years of age. Since the death of Jahandar Shah he had lived with his noble mother in the fort of Dehli. He was a good-looking young man, with many good qualities, and of excellent intelligence. Rafi'u-d Daula had been dead nearly a week before the young Prince arrived; but the fact was kept secret, and the defunct was buried soon after the arrival. On the 11th Zi-l ka'da, 1131[1] A.H. (September A.D. 1719), he reached Fathpur, and on the 15th of that month he ascended the throne. Money was struck in the name of Abu-l Muzaffar Nasiru-d din Muhammad Shah Badshah-i Ghazi, and his name was read in the *khutba* as Emperor of Hindustan in the mosques. His mother was well acquainted with State business, and was a woman of much intelligence and tact. It was settled that the beginning of his reign should date from the deposition of Farrukh Siyar, and should be so entered in the Government records. Fifteen thousand rupees a month were allotted to his mother. The *nazirs* and all the officers and servants around the Emperor were, as before, the servants of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah. When the young Emperor went out for a ride, he was surrounded, as with a halo, by numbers of the Saiyid's trusted adherents; and when occasionally, in the course of two or three months, he went out hunting, or for an excursion into the country, they went with him and brought him back.

(Text, vol. ii, p. 843.) [2]Mir Jumla was appointed to the office of chief judge, and Ratan Chand held firm his position. His authority extended over all civil, revenue, and legal matters, even to the appointment of *kazis* in the cities and other judicial officers. All the other government officials were put in the background and no one would undertake any business but under a document with his seal.

[1] The *Tazkira-i Chaghatai* is in accord; the *Siyaru-l Mutaakhkhirin* is again a year later. See Briggs, p. 196.

[2] This paragraph is taken a little in advance to avoid a break in the narrative.

(Text, vol. ii, p. 842.) Chhabila Ram Nagar, *subadar* of Allahabad, had given uneasiness by his insubordination, and Husain 'Ali Khan prepared to march against him and bring him to order; but news arrived that he was dead. After Chhabila's death, his brother's son Giridhar, who was called his swordsman, set about collecting forces and strengthening the fortifications. When this became known, they (the Saiyids) took Muhammad Shah from Fathpur to Agra, and, in preparation for the siege of Allahabad, orders were given for throwing a bridge over the Jumna, and for the march of a force in advance. . . . Giridhar, hearing of the preparations for the siege of Allahabad, sent his *vakils* to make propositions, . . . which ended in his being promised the *subadari* of Oudh, with other favours, and the title of *Bahadur*. But Giridhar placed no reliance on the words and promises of the Saiyids. So the fortress was invested, and the siege dragged on a long time. At length Husain 'Ali Khan crossed the Jumna (*to press the siege*).

The fort of Allahabad is protected on three sides by the rivers Ganges and Jumna, and Giridhar had worked hard in strengthening the defences, and in collecting provisions and stores of war. The report of his rebellion had caused great excitement in all the exchequer territories and among the great *jagirdars*. Taking these facts into consideration it was feared that the protraction of the siege might lead to serious derangements in civil and revenue matters, and the condition of the people in all the *subas*. The promise of surrendering the fortress had induced Saiyid 'Abdu-llah to return with the Emperor towards Dehli; . . . but when it was known that the promise had not been kept, contrary to all usage, they turned back. Giridhar had written repeatedly to say that if Ratan Chand were sent to him, some settlement consistent with safety and honour might be made, so that he might leave the fort. The two brothers decided upon deputing Ratan Chand, and he proceeded thither with a suitable escort at the end of Rabi'u-l akhir, in the second year of the reign.

When Ratan Chand and Giridhar met, an arrangement was made and confirmed by an oath upon the water of the Ganges—a very solemn oath among Hindus. It was agreed that Giridhar should receive, in addition to the *subadari* of Oudh and the *faujdari* dependent thereon, two or three other important *faujdaris* which he desired to possess. At the beginning of Jumada-l akhir he withdrew from the fortress, and proceeded towards Oudh. It has been said that "Laughter ends with weeping, and rejoicing with sorrow." The surrender of Allahabad was not generally known, ... before Fate brought forth another serious matter.

Decline of the Saiyids and Rise of Nizamu-l Mulk Bahadur Firoz Jang

(Text, vol. ii, p. 847.) Husain 'Ali Khan deemed himself superior in military and government matters to his brother. In his judgment it seemed that, as there were sufficient administrators with him and his brother, and as his adopted son 'Alam 'Ali was acting (as *subadar*) in the Dakhin with a sufficient army, it would be well to send Nizamu-l Mulk to be *subadar* of Malwa, half-way between Dehli and the Dakhin. . . . Nizamu-l Mulk accepted the appointment, and received his robe and dismissal to his government on the third day after the accession of Rafi'u-d Darajat. He took with him his wives and children, and there accompanied him more than a thousand companions, *mansabdars* and *jagirdars*, who were poor and sick at heart with the unkindness shown by the Saiyids, and through pay being in arrear. Nizamu-l Mulk busied himself in collecting soldiers and artillery, which are necessary for governing the world and keeping it in order. He gave 500 horses with accoutrements and arms to Muhammad Ghiyas Khan for his Mughal fraternity, and turned them into horsemen. He lent large sums of money to and others, binding them to himself by the bonds of debt and kindness.

When Saiyid Husain 'Ali Khan was marching from the Dakhin against Farrukh Siyar, on coming to the Nerbadda, Marhamat Khan, who was in the fort of Shadiabad at

Mandu, made an excuse of illness, and did not go out to meet him. After the death of Farrukh Siyar, the Saiyid appointed Khwaja Kuli Khan to succeed him. . . . Marhamat Khan resisted. Then Husain 'Ali wrote' to Nizamu-l Mulk, desiring him to turn Marhamat Khan out of the fort. . . . After some negotiation, Marhamat Khan came out and joined Nizamu-l Mulk.

(Text, vol. ii. p. 850.) After the accession of Muhammad Shah, letters were often sent by him and by his mother, Maryam Makani, through the medium of I'timadu-d daula Muhammad Amin Khan, to Nizamu-l Mulk, informing him that the constraint used by the Saiyids was so strict that he had only liberty to go to service on the Sabbath, and that he had no power of giving any orders; that the Saiyids, in their futile scheming, proposed, after settling the affairs of Neku Siyar and Giridhar, to get rid of Nizamu-l Mulk, and then to do as they pleased; that they (Muhammad Shah and his mother) had full reliance on Nizamu-l Mulk, that he would not fail in the loyalty which his ancestors had ever exhibited.

When Neku Siyar had been taken prisoner, and peace had been made with Giridhar, Husain 'Ali Khan set other springs of disturbance in action. He made a compact with Maharao Bhim Singh Hada, that after chastising Salim Singh, *zamindar* of Bundi, and settling matters with Nizamu-l Mulk, he would raise Bhim Singh to the high dignity of Maharaja; so that, after Maharaja Ajit Singh, he would be higher in rank than all the other Rajas; and that he should receive a *mansab* of 7,000 and 7,000 horse, with the Fish banner. He appointed him, Raja Gaj Singh of Narwar, Dilawar 'Ali Khan, and others, with an army of 15,000 horse, first to punish and expel Salim Singh of Bundi, and then to direct their attention to Nizamu-l Mulk, and be ready to act upon the directions they might receive.

Husain 'Ali Khan, throwing aside the veil, wrote to Nizamu-l Mulk, . . . bringing complaints and charges against him. Nizamu-l Mulk in his honesty wrote clear answers to every charge; but they did not satisfy Husain 'Ali, and he wrote in plain terms to Nizamu-l Mulk, saying, that for the

purpose of arranging the affairs of the Dakhin, he wished to hold the *suba* of Malwa himself, and that he would give Nizamu-l Mulk his choice of the *subas* of Agra, Allahabad, Multan or Burhanpur.

Nizamu-l Mulk had employed the interval of eight or nine months in collecting seven or eight thousand horse and materials of war. He was cautious and watchful, and he had formed the design of conquering the Dakhin, and of setting free that land of treasure and of soldiers. He now received notice from his *vakils* that the Saiyids had sent officers to summon him to the presence. But before these he had received letters from the Emperor and from private friends, telling him there was no time to be lost, and that what he had to do he must do quickly.

Nizamu-l Mulk perceived that the brothers had the fixed intention of overthrowing the royal house and removing the *Khalifa* of the world. Seeing that there were no other means of safety, he consulted with his friends, and setting out from Ujjain, he made three marches towards Agra, and then turned to the Dakhin. On the 1st of Rajab he crossed the Nerbadda, where he was joined by Rustam Beg Khan, *Faujdar* of Bijagarh,[1] also called Kahargaon. On the same day he crossed the Nerbadda, an envoy came from Usman Khan, a soldier (*hazari*) of the fort of Asir, proposing to surrender the fortress, ... and on the 16th Rajab he took possession of this important stronghold. He next sent Muhammad Ghiyas Khan to reduce Burhanpur . . . Saiyid 'Alam 'Ali Khan (the acting *subadar*) sent Muhammad Anwar Khan to defend Burhanpur; but this man was wanting in courage, and gave up in despair. Nizamu-l Mulk entered the town on the 17th.

Just before he got possession of Burhanpur, the children and dependants of Saifu-d din 'Ali Khan, brother of Husain 'Ali Khan, had come to that place on their way to Dehli. They were greatly alarmed when Nizamu-l Mulk became master of the city. Some of his friends

[1] Between the Nerbadda and Tapti, about sixty miles north-west of Burhanpur.

counselled him to seize upon their valuables [*but he refused*], . . . and sent an escort to guard them as far as the Nerbadda. He was joined at Burhanpur by 'Iwaz Khan, Nazim of the *suba* of Birar, and by troop after troop of adherents, and he remained there for some time to get his artillery in order.

Dilawar 'Ali Khan, after subjugating Bundi, under the direction of Husain 'Ali Khan as above narrated, marched into Malwa with his army, accompanied by Raja Bhim and Raja Gaj Singh, causing great injury to the country and distress to the inhabitants.

Defeat and Death of Husain Khan Afghan

(Text, vol. ii, p. 861.) Husain Khan Afghan was one of the proud and bold Afghans of the *sarkar* of Kasur.[1] For some years past he had occupied himself in rebellion and violence. He had taken possession of some prosperous districts about Kasur and Lahore, and had raised the standard of revolt. He had several times defeated the armies of the *subadars* and the princes; and since the time that 'Abdu-s Samad Khan Diler Jang had been made *subadar* of the Panjab, he had further overstepped the limits of a subject, had turned the officials of the *jagirdars* and *subadars* out, and had seized upon the revenues in a most defiant manner. The author has heard from trustworthy persons that he received letters from the Saiyids at the head of the Government, inciting him to embarrass the *subadar*, and encouraging the hope of his obtaining for himself the *subadari* of Lahore. At any rate, he grew bolder. He fought with Kutbu-d din, the *'amil* of the *subadar*, killed him, and plundered his army and treasure. With eight or nine thousand horse he then set out on a plundering expedition. 'Abdu-s Samad Khan, who had begun to raise an army, marched with seven or eight thousand men to attack him, and the armies approached the village of Jhuni, about thirty *kos* from Lahore. [*Long and hard-contested battle.*] An arrow at

[1] South of Lahore.

length struck Husain Khan, inflicting a severe wound. His elephant had no driver, and ran about in all directions—a mark for arrows and bullets from every side. Flames burst forth from the *howda*, the cause of which could not be discovered; but in that condition Husain Khan fell under the swords of the brave warriors with a large number of Afghans. On the news of the victory reaching Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan, much against his will, but to avoid censure, he lauded the services of 'Abdu-s Samad Khan, and gave him the title of *Saifu-d Daula*.

Letters from Burhanpur reached the Court with details about the fort of Asir. It appeared that Khusru, a servant of Nizamu-l Mulk, had introduced himself to the soldiers of the fortress, and carried on a correspondence about its surrender. *Nolens volens*, the soldiers coerced Talib Khan, the commandant appointed by the Saiyids, who was in a great state of dismay, and made him surrender the fortress to Nizamu-l Mulk and give two years' pay to the soldiers. Further letters informed them that Anwar Khan, *subadar* of Burhanpur, had joined Nizamu-l Mulk and that Rambha Nimbalkar,[1] a famous Mahratta chieftain, had also joined him, both bringing their followers. All the officials of Burhanpur and many of the *zamindars* of the neighbourhood had taken the same course. This information greatly disturbed the Saiyids. They wrote pressing letters to Dilawar Khan and Maharao Bhim Singh, directing them to engage Nizamu-l Mulk. Every day and every week Saiyid Husain 'Ali brought forward new plans for proceeding to the Dakhin, and he waited anxiously for letters from Dilawar Khan. Ratan Chand, seeing how matters were tending, advised a peace and the surrender of the *subas* of the Dakhin to Nizamu-l Mulk, for he saw that war would end in the Saiyids' death. But Husain 'Ali would not consent to any peace with Nizamu-l Mulk.

Religious Troubles in Kashmir

(Vol. ii, p. 867.) Mahbub Khan, otherwise called 'Abdu-n Nabi Kashmiri, had a long-standing enmity

[1] "Binalkar" in the text.

against the Hindus in Kashmir. He had gathered round him many restless Muhammadans, with whom he went to the deputy of the *subadar* and to the *kazi*, and, presenting certain legal opinions, he demanded that the Hindus should be interdicted from riding on horses, from wearing coats (*jama*), from putting on turbans and armour (*chira o yarak*), from going out for excursions in the fields and gardens, and from bathing on certain days. Upon this matter he was very virulent. The officials, in answer, said that they would act upon the rules laid down by the Emperor, and by the chief lawyers, in respect of the treatment of *zimmis* (protected unbelievers) throughout the provinces of the empire. Mahbub Khan was greatly offended, and, being supported by a party of Musulmans, he annoyed and insulted Hindus wherever he met them. A Hindu could not pass through any market or street without being subjected to indignity.

One day Majlis Rai, a respected Hindu of Kashmir, went out with a party to ramble in the fields and gardens, and they feasted Brahmans. Mahbub Khan collected ten or twelve thousand Musulmans, came upon them unawares, and began to beat, bind and kill them. Majlis Rai escaped, and fled with some others to Ahmad Khan. Mahbub Khan, with all his followers, went to the house of Majlis Rai and the Hindu quarter, and began to plunder and to fire the houses. The Hindus and Musulmans who interfered to prevent this were killed and wounded. After that they proceeded to the house of Mir Ahmad Khan, where they set to work beating, throwing stones and bricks, and shooting arrows and bullets. Every man they found they detained and subjected to various indignities. Some they killed, others they wounded and plundered. Mir Ahmad Khan for a day and night was unable to drive them from his house or to stop their violence, but had to employ many artifices to escape from them. Next day he got together a force, and, with Mir Shahur Khan Bakhshi and other officials, they took horse and went against Mahbub Khan. The rioters collected, as on the preceding day, and resisted Ahmad Khan. A party got in his rear and burnt the

bridge over which he had crossed. They set fire to both sides of the street through which he had passed, and from in front and from the roofs and walls of the houses, they discharged arrows and muskets and cast stones and bricks. Women and children flung filth, dirt, and whatever they could lay hands on. A fierce fight continued, in which and several others were killed or wounded. Mir Ahmad Khan was in a great strait, for he could neither retire nor advance; so he was obliged to ask for mercy, and escaped from his dangerous position amid volleys of gibes and insults.

Mahbub Khan proceeded to the Hindu quarter, and burnt and gutted the houses which remained. Again he proceeded to the house of Mir Ahmad Khan, and dragged out of it with insult Majlis Rai and a number of other persons who had taken refuge there. He and his followers cut off their ears and noses, circumcised them, and in some instances cut off the organ of generation. Another day they went tumultuously to the great mosque, degraded Mir Ahmad Khan from his office of deputy of the *subadar*, and, having given the prime cause of the disturbance the title of Dindar Khan, they appointed him to act as ruler of the Musulmans, and to enforce the commands of the law and the decisions of the *kazis* until a new deputy *subadar* should come from the Court. For five months Mir Ahmad Khan was deprived of power, and remained in retirement. Dindar Khan acted as ruler, and, taking his seat in the mosque, discharged the government business.

Upon intelligence of this outbreak reaching Court, Mumin Khan was sent to act as deputy of 'Inayatu-llah Khan, the *subadar*. . . . At the end of Shawwal he halted three *kos* from Kashmir. Mahbub Khan was ashamed of his unrighteous deeds, so he went to Khwaja 'Abdu-llah, who was highly respected in Kashmir, and begged him to go out with a number of the principal and most respectable Muhammadans to meet the new deputy, and bring him into the city with honour.... Khwaja 'Abdu-llah advised him in a friendly way to go to Mir Shahur Khan *Bakhshi*, and apologise for what had passed. If he did so, they would

go out with him to meet the deputy. In accordance with this advice, Mahbub Khan went to the house of Shahur Khan, and having made a statement to him, rose to depart, alleging he had some necessary business to attend to. The *bakhshi*, acting on the Khwaja's advice, had called a number of people from the Charbeli and Kahkaran quarters of the city, and concealed them about his house. They watched for Mahbub Khan, and fell upon him unawares. First, before his eyes, they ripped up the bellies of his two young boys, who always accompanied him, and they killed him with great cruelty.

Next day the Musulmans went to the Charbeli quarter, to exact retaliation for blood. This quarter was inhabited by *Shi'as*. There they began to beat, to bind, to kill, and to burn the houses. For two days the fight was kept up, but the assailants then prevailed. Two or three thousand people who were in that quarter, including a large number of Mughal travellers, were killed with their wives and families. Property to the value of *lacs* was plundered, and the war raged for two or three days. It is impossible to commit to writing all that I have heard about this outbreak. After this destruction, the rioters went to the houses of the *kazi* and the *bakshi*. Shahur Khan concealed himself and the *kazi* escaped in disguise. They pulled down the *kazi's* house to the foundations, and carried the bricks of it away in their hands. Mumin Khan, after entering the city, sent Mir Ahmad Khan under an escort to Imanabad, and then had to take severe measures with the people of Kashmir.

Nizamu-l Mulk

(Text, vol. ii, p. 873.) Dilawar 'Ali Khan, *bakhshi* of Husain 'Ali Khan, who had been sent with six or seven thousand horse against the Raja of Bundi, having hastily increased them to twelve or thirteen thousand, crossed the Nerbadda. Various rumours reached Nizamu-l Mulk, and according to one, Dilawar 'Ali Khan had reached Handiya. Nizamu-l Mulk prepared to encounter him. The plan of

'Alam 'Ali Khan (the acting *subadar*) was to enlist as many Mahrattas as he could, to gather together the great *faujdars*, and to march from Aurangabad as soon as he heard of the near approach of Dilawar 'Ali Khan. Nizamu-l Mulk would thus be placed between two armies. . . .

(Text, vol. ii, p. 875.) Nizamu-l Mulk, on receiving intelligence that 'Alam 'Ali Khan had taken the field, marched from Burhanpur to oppose him. He crossed the Tapti and encamped towards the east. When he heard of the advance of Dilawar 'Ali Khan, he resolved to meet him first. He sent his family to the fort of Asir, and then began his march against the enemy. On arriving within two or three *kos* of Ratanpur, and sixteen or seventeen from Burhanpur, he encamped about two *kos* distance from his adversary. To avoid shedding the blood of Musulmans, he sent conciliatory messages to Dilawar 'Ali, deprecating battle, but without effect. On the 16th Sha'ban, 1132 A.H. (11th May, 1720), both sides drew out their forces for the struggle. [*Dispositions for and progress of the battle.*] Dilawar 'Ali Khan, mounted on an elephant, fought resolutely, . . . but he was struck by a musket-ball and killed. The army of the Barhas then turned to flee; but the *Rajputs*, Raja Bhim, and Raja Gaj Singh disdained to escape, and fought with great valour. They and three or four hundred other *Rajputs*, many Barha Saiyid officers and others, altogether four or five thousand men were killed. The day after the battle intelligence came that 'Alam 'Ali Khan had arrived at the tank of Hartala, seventeen *kos* from Burhanpur. Nizamu-l Mulk sent Mutawasal Khan with a force of three thousand horse to protect the city and the people.

(Text, vol. ii, p. 882.) When the news of the defeat and death of Dilawar 'Ali Khan reached the Saiyid brothers, it greatly disturbed and perplexed them. Every day some new plan was formed. Now it was proposed that both should go to the Dakhin, and take the Emperor with them. Then that Saiyid Husain 'Ali should go to the Dakhin and that Saiyid 'Abdu-llah should proceed to Dehli with

the Emperor. . . . Every week and every month the tents of the Emperor and of the two brothers moved in different directions, and their councils were distracted.

Earthquake

(Text, vol. ii, p. 883.) On the 2nd of Ramazan, 1132 A.H. (27th June, 1720), on Friday, during prayers at the mosques, a fearful earthquake was felt. A noise under the earth was heard, doors and walls shook and roofs rattled. During the day and night nine shocks were felt. It was reported that parts of the fort and many houses were thrown down, and that great numbers of persons were killed in Shahjahanabad and Old Dehli. The writer of these leaves went out on horseback to see and ascertain for himself.... He found houses destroyed here and there, parts of the ramparts thrown down and damaged, two gates of the city injured, the parapets of the Fathpuri mosque damaged, and ten or twelve persons killed and wounded. It was very wonderful that for a month and two days the shocks continued, and were felt four or five times in the twenty-four hours. Many persons were so alarmed that they would not sleep under a roof. After this time the force of the shocks decreased; but for four or five months the earth and the houses were found to shake occasionally, until the arrival of the blessed feet of His Majesty, when the shocks gradually ceased.

(Text, vol. ii, p. 885.) On the 1st Zi-l ka'da it was determined that His Majesty should go with Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan to Dehli, and that Husain 'Ali Khan should proceed with a number of warlike *amirs* to the Dakhin. It was now that a quarrel arose between the Saiyids and I'timadu-d daula. This caused a great feeling of alarm for some days, and it was so much talked about that I'timadu-d daula and the braves of Turan remained under arms night and day.

Defeat and Death of 'Alam Khan

(Text, vol. ii, p. 885.) Intelligence now arrived that 'Alam 'Ali Khan and many of his officers had been killed. The

author has not obtained exact information of this matter; but he will relate what he has gathered from different accounts given to him by trustworthy men.

After the death of Dilawar 'Ali Khan, two or three thousand Barha horse ... were glad to make their escape to 'Alam Khan. This officer, when he heard that Dilawar Khan was approaching, went out of Aurangabad (to join him) with thirty thousand horse. He had reached the pass of Fardapur, half-way to Burhanpur, and was engaged in getting his artillery through, when he received the unwelcome news. Several of the Mahratta *Sardars* and his own associates advised him to return to Aurangabad, or to go to Ahmadnagar, and await the coming of Husain 'Ali Khan. Under the protection of the walls he might enlist men, and carry on the war with discretion, while the Mahrattas might be sent out to ravage and plunder in the vicinity of Nizamu-l Mulk's army, and to carry on that Cossack warfare for which the people of the Dakhin are so famous.

'Alam 'Ali Khan, in his pride, paid no heed to these counsels, but went down with his whole force. After the defeat of Dilawar 'Ali Khan, Nizamu-l Mulk went and encamped at Burhanpur. When he heard of 'Alam 'Ali Khan's approach, he sent to him the coffins of Dilawar 'Ali Khan and Saiyid Sher Khan; and he wrote a few words of noble advice for 'Alam Khan to send to his two uncles, deprecating any further shedding of the blood of Musulmans. But this had no effect. Nizamu-l Mulk then marched from Burhanpur to the river Purna, sixteen or seventeen *kos* west of that city. 'Alam 'Ali Khan was encamped near the tank of Hartala, close to the Purna. Continuous rain, mire and mud, the flood of waters and the want of boats, prevented both armies from crossing the river, and compelled them to wait awhile. Nizamu-l Mulk, to change his ground, escape the mire, and find a ford, made a move of two *kos* in the direction of Birar, and encamped on the bank of the river, until through the guidance of the *zamindars*, and the exertions of 'Iwaz Khan, a ford was

discovered fourteen or fifteen *kos* away in the direction of Balapur.

In the middle of Ramazan, Nizamu-l Mulk crossed the river with his whole army. This passage was looked upon as a good omen, and inspirited his men. 'Alam 'Ali Khan was disturbed when he heard of the crossing; but he set his forces in motion to meet his adversary. Nizamu-l Mulk waited a day to allow the rear of his army and his baggage to cross. In some places the water was up to the waist, in others, to the breast, but all got over in safety without loss to life or property. Next day he marched to fix upon a position in which to give battle. He encamped at Siuganw, in the *suba* of Burhanpur [*where his army suffered greatly from heavy rain, want of provisions, and the skirmishing of the Mahrattas*]. At length the rain ceased awhile, and he marched to a ruined village three *kos* from Balapur.

The Mahrattas were very daring and troublesome, and 'Iwaz Khan, Muhammad Ghiyas Khan, and Rambha Nimbalkar were sent to punish them. A fight ensued, in which the Mahrattas were put to flight, and a great spoil of mares, spears, etc., fell into the hands of the victors. Sufficiency of fodder and grain not being procurable, another march was necessary, and they had to bury some heavy guns, which the mud and the weakness of the bullocks prevented them from moving. After remaining three days to rest and recruit near Balapur, where sufficient grain was found, on the 5th Shawwal the army marched to the chosen battle-field, two or three *kos* distant.

Nizamu-l Mulk made his disposition of his forces. . . . 'Alam 'Ali Khan also made his arrangements. . . . On his side were Santaji Sindhia, Khanduji Daphariya *Senapati*, Sankaraji Malhar, Kanuji, and other Mahrattas of repute, on the part of Raja Sahu, with seventeen or eighteen thousand men, who all called themselves faithful adherents of Husain 'Ali Khan. . . . On the 6th Shawwal, 1132 A.H. (1st August, A.D. 1720), the battle was fought. . . . 'Alam 'Ali Khan received a severe wound, but for all that he kept the field. . . . The elephant, which carried him, unable to

bear any longer the arrows and sword-cuts that he received, turned tail. 'Alam 'Ali Khan, dripping with blood from his wounds, turned his face towards the army of Nizamu-l Mulk, and cried out that the elephant had turned his back, but he had not. All his own arrows were exhausted, but such of the enemy's arrows as struck his face, or his body, or his *howda*, he quickly pulled out and returned. He received so many wounds in succession that he sank under them, and sacrificed his life for his uncles. He was only twenty-two years of age, but he was distinguished by all the determination and bravery of the Barha Saiyids. Seventeen or eighteen other men of renown, riders upon elephants, fell in the battle with a large number of inferior men. After the defeat Amin Khan, . . . and other men of standing came over and joined Nizamu-l Mulk. Sankaraji, one of Raja Sahu's ministers (*madar*), was wounded and made prisoner. The elephants and guns fell into the hands of Nizamu-l Mulk, the rest was all plundered. Of the victorious army . . . very few were killed or wounded. . . . The wives and dependants of Husain 'Ali Khan, who were at Aurangabad, went with their property and belongings into the fort of Aurangabad. . . . Mubariz Khan, *subadar* of Haidarabad, and Dilawar Khan, his fast friend, with six or seven thousand horse, joined Nizamu-l Mulk.

Ministerial Arrangements

(Text, vol. ii, p. 897.) After much deliberation the two Saiyids determined that 'Abdu-llah Khan should proceed to Dehli and stay there, and that Husain 'Ali Khan, in attendance upon the Emperor, and accompanied by a number of the chief *amirs* and an army, should go to the Dakhin and take revenge of Nizamu-l Mulk. The Saiyids determined upon raising one hundred thousand men, and they sent money with *parwanas* and contracts (*kaul*) to summon the muster-masters (*jamadars*) of the Barhas and the Afghans. There was a strong disinclination to entering the service of the two brothers, and the *amirs* who were to accompany Husain 'Ali Khan had received orders to raise squadrons, so men and horses were very scarce. The

jamadars far and near had noticed the declining fortunes of the two Saiyids, and they were unwilling to go to the Dakhin, so the desired army was not raised. But nearly 50,000 horse, old soldiers and recruits, and Emperor's men, were raised, and they hoped also to assemble the men of Barha, and the contingents of the *rajas* and the *zamindars* of the provinces. With this army, with a powerful train of artillery, and many warlike *amirs* and gentlemen, Husain 'Ali sent them on the march for the Dakhin at the end of Shawwal. Having himself marched two *kos* out of Agra, on 1st Zi-l ka'da he dismissed Saiyid Khan Jahan from the command of the artillery, and appointed Haidar Kuli Khan in his place.... Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan proceeded towards Dehli....

There was a number of persons, old servants, attendants and officials of the two brothers, especially of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, who through them had risen to great honour and prosperity. But the infamous murder of the martyr Emperor (Farrukh Siyar), the sight of the indignities which the Emperor, the representative of the House of Timur, had to endure, and the fact of the administration being under the direction of a base-born shopkeeper (Ratan Chand), had, under the guidance of the Converter of Hearts, so changed their feelings, that some of them often said, "Although we know that we shall suffer many hardships through the downfall of the Barhas, still we hope that, through the blindness of its ill-wishers, the House of Timur may again acquire splendour." Some of the relations and officials of the two brothers often offered up their prayers to God, and said, "The end of the lives of the two brothers, who have no children, is evident; but woe to all Barha Saiyids, for we know what evil awaits our children through the misdeeds of these two men!"

Death of Amiru-l umara Husain 'Ali Khan Barha by the Sword of Retributive Justice

(Text, vol. ii, p. 901.) When Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan, on the 7th Zi-l hijja, had reached a stage forty *kos* from Dehli,

a camel express arrived, despatched by Ghairat Khan (*sic*), with a letter from Ratan Chand, announcing the slaughter of Husain 'Ali Khan, Ghairat Khan, and Nurullah Khan. The facts of this strange and marvellous matter are these. When the representatives of the House of Timur lost the control of the State, the great and the small of all classes were disgusted with the arrogance of the two brothers, and by the fact of the general control of civil and revenue affairs being under the direction of Ratan Chand. For excepting men of Barha and the shopkeeping class, no one found any favour. The nobility of every province carried on their existence in disgrace and distrust. I'timadu-d daula Muhammad Amin Khan Chin Bahadur was convinced that, notwithstanding his covenants and protestations, Husain 'Ali Khan would, whenever it suited his designs, perform his engagements in the same way as he had kept them with the late martyr Emperor, Farrukh Siyar. So I'timadu-d daula was always scheming the overthrow of the Barhas, but he did not think it prudent to seek assistance of his friends and acquaintances in this dangerous project.

Sa'adat Khan, otherwise called Mir Muhammad Amin, a Saiyid of Naishapur, . . . a close and trusted friend of I'timadu-d daula, joined heartily in the plot, and so also did the artilleryman Haidar Khan Kashghari, a Chaghatai Turk, descended from Mir Haidar, the author of the *Tarikh-i Rashidi*. He bore the hereditary title of "Sword-bearer." . . . All these three were agreed upon cutting the thread of Husain 'Ali Khan's life, and bound themselves together to effect their purpose, and to keep their design secret to themselves. So strict were they in their secrecy, that neither the Emperor, nor Kamru-d din Khan, son of I'timadu-d daula, knew anything of it. Excepting the mother of the Emperor, and Sadru-n nisa, a protegee (*dastgirifta*) of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan, no one knew anything of the plot.

On the 6th Zi-l hijja, in the second year of the reign, the royal army was encamped at Tora, thirty-five *kos* from Fathpur. I'timadu-d daula, having accompanied the

Emperor to his tent, made a show of being unwell, and retired to the tent of Haidar Kuli Khan. When the Emperor entered his private apartments, Husain 'Ali Khan also retired. As he reached the gate of the royal inclosure, Mir Haidar Khan, who had a speaking acquaintance with him, approached. Washing his hands of life, he placed a written statement in the hands of Husain 'Ali Khan, and complained of I'timadu-d daula while his victim read it. When Mir Haidar found him off his guard, he stabbed Husain 'Ali in the side with a dagger, and this one wound despatched him. Nuru-llah Khan, son of Asadu-llah Khan, and nephew of the murdered man, accompanied his *palki* on foot. He cut down Mir Haidar Khan with his sword. It is said that Mir Mushrif then came up and finished him. He also killed another Mughal, and was wounded himself, but escaped alive. Mughals assembled from every side, who killed Nuru-llah, and having cut off the head of Husain 'Ali, carried it as an offering to the Emperor. The eunuch, Makbul Khan, *nazir* of the Saiyids, fought strenuously, and so severely wounded two or three of the assailants, that they died a few days afterwards. A water-carrier and a sweeper of Husain 'Ali Khan showed great devotion and courage. Raising loud cries, they fell sword in hand upon the crowd, cut their way through, and got into the oratory, where they fell under many balls and arrows discharged by the Mughals.

Mustafa Khan, *bakhshi* of Muhkam Singh, had with him a party of his master's men. When he heard of the affray with Husain 'Ali, without ascertaining the fact, or giving information to Muhkam Singh, he went at the gate of the royal inclosure. The crowd was so great that he could not get in; but in another part he broke into the *diwan-i khass*, and entered sword in hand uttering cries. They fought fiercely, but two or three fell severely wounded under the balls and arrows of the Mughals, and the rest made their escape. Some of the artillerymen of Husain 'Ali Khan gathered round the royal tents, and began to fire muskets and *ramchangis*. 'Izzat Khan, nephew of Husain 'Ali, had gone to his tent and had loosened his belt to eat

bread. When he heard the startling news, he was roused to the highest pitch.[1] Without waiting to collect the scattered soldiers, but displaying all his resolution, he instantly mounted an elephant, and went with four or five hundred horsemen towards the royal quarters.

Haidar Kuli Khan Bahadur, notwithstanding the information given to Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, had not been from the first a participator in the conspiracy formed for taking revenge of Husain 'Ali, but he saw that the Emperor had no power in the government of the State, and that everything was directed by Ratan Singh, and other vile infidels. The two Saiyids, the real rulers, thought themselves masters of the pen and masters of the sword in Hindustan, and as opposed to their judgment and the swords of the Barhas, the Mughals of Iran and of Turan were as nobodies. They did not remember that these Mughals had come a thousand or two thousand miles from their native countries, and that by their courage and sound judgment, the wide realm of Hindustan, with its great kings and famous *rajas*, had by hard fighting been won for the Emperor Babar. For two hundred years they had lived in the favour of the House of Timur, and they now felt the ignominy of seeing their Emperor without any power in his own State. Pride, courage and honour continually spurred this lion-hearted noble to make an end of this state of things, and to take revenge. But he waited for the day to come.

Now that it had pleased Heaven to exact vengeance, and to befriend the young inheritor of the throne, he stepped boldly forward, ready to show his loyalty and devotion in vigorous action. When the noise of contention rose high in every quarter, Sa'adat Khan, under the direction of Haidar Kuli Khan and the orders of I'timadu-d daula, obeyed them and the dictates of his own courage. He went boldly into the inner apartment, where the Emperor had retired. He got there just at the time when the partisans of the two brothers were raging with violent designs against His Majesty. The Nawab Kudsiya (the Emperor's mother), in her motherly love, forbad the entrance of the

[1] Lit. "the world became dark in his eyes."

brave Sa'adat Khan. Assuring the inmates against harm from their enemies, he threw a shawl over his face and went boldly in; then with the utmost devotion he took the hand of the Emperor and led him out. I'timadu-d daula mounted him on his own elephant, and sat behind him as his attendant.

On the arrival of the Emperor at the chief gate, the soldiers and guards and the *amirs* had gone to their own abodes, according to their custom every day. The noise of the struggle had frightened away many men well disposed and ill disposed; the royal elephants and horses and the *amirs* were dispersed. Muhammad Amin Khan Chin (Itimadu-d daula), Kamru-d din Khan, forty or fifty Mughals, and some gunners, altogether amounting to a hundred or two hundred men, were all that were present to form the Emperor's retinue. Haidar Kuli Khan sent for the elephants and horses of the royal equipage, and to summon the men of the artillery. With the limited band of devoted men who were round the royal presence, and with the aid of Kamru-d din Khan and Sa'adat Khan, he awaited the onslaught of that raging lion of the Barhas, 'Izzat Khan.

The noise of the strife rose high. On one side the braves of Barha rushed boldly into the fray; on the other the valiant men of Iran and Turan came from every side eager for the fight.... Plunderers began to pillage the *bazars* and stores, and set fire to the tents of Husain 'Ali, but victory inclined to the royal side. Samsamu-d daula Khan-dauran Bahadur Mansur-Jang arrived with his followers and joined in the fight.... 'Izzat Khan, who had already received two wounds from arrows, was struck by a musket-bullet and killed. The partisans of the Barhas then fled, and on every side shouts arose proclaiming the victory of Muhammad Shah....

After His Majesty had returned, Haidar Kuli Khan sent for Muhkam Singh, promising him the royal pardon and favour, with a *mansab* of 6,000, ultimately raised to 7,000. I'timadu-d daula sent several kind messages to Ratan Chand, who, vainly hoping to save his life and honour, descended from his proud elephant and went off much

frightened in a *palki* towards the royal quarters. A mob of Mughals, vagabonds of the markets, and idlers, who were as full of fury at his oppressive actions as the seeds of a pomegranate are full of blood, fell upon him, dragged him from the *palki*, beat him with sticks, punched him, kicked him, tore the clothes from his body, and stripped him stark naked. They then carried him to I'timadu-d daula, of whom he begged for protection, and that noble gave him some clothes, and ordered him to be put in a collar and in chains. Rai Siroman Das, a Kayat by caste, and an old agent of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, made the best use of his opportunity in the strife, shaved off his beard and whiskers, marked his forehead with ashes, and assuming the appearance of a *fakir*, he left his furniture to be plundered, carried off some money and valuables and hid himself for some days in the tent of his friend, until he managed to escape and join Saiyid 'Abdu-llah....

The corpses of Husain 'Ali Khan, 'Izzat Khan and Nuru-llah Khan were placed in coffins covered with gold brocade, and after the funeral service was read over them, they were sent to be buried at Ajmir, near the tomb of 'Abdu-llah Khan.[1] The common report is that Saiyid 'Abdu-llah repeatedly stated in public that no bearers were found to carry the coffins, that the covers of the coffins were stolen, and that the coffins remained lying on the ground, and were not buried. Common report says that they were eventually buried at Ajmir....

(Vol. ii, p. 911.) The *mansab* of I'timadu-d daula was increased to eight thousand and eight thousand *do-aspahs*. He received a *kror* and fifty *lacs* of rupees as *in'am*, and was appointed *wazir*, with the addition to his titles of *Waziru-l mamalik Zafar-Jang*. Samsamu-d daula was made *bakhshi*, with an increase to 7,000 and 7,000 horse, and the title of *Amiru-l umara*. Kamru-d din Khan was made second *bakhshi* and *darogha* of the *ghusl-khana*. He was named to other offices, and he received an increase of 1,000 with 1,000 horse. Haidar Kuli Khan received an increase to 6,000 and 6,000 horse, *do-aspahs* and *yak-aspahs*, and he

[1] "Commonly called Mia Khan, the founder of the family."—*Siyaru-l Mura-akh-khirin.*

was entitled *Nasir Jang.* Sa'adat Khan was advanced to 5,000 and 5,000 horse, with the title of *Sa'adat Khan Bahadur,* and the privilege of kettle-drums. Zafar Khan, and every one of the old adherents and of the new corps of *Wala-shahis,* received liberal rewards according to their services and deserts.

Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan was greatly distressed by the grievous news of his brother's death, and his eyes filled with tears; but he knew that there was no remedy but resignation. Thinking that there was nothing to be gained by delay, he proceeded on his journey to Dehli. On the arrival of the mournful news, some of his friends advised him to hasten with all speed and heat (against the Emperor), before he was joined by the provincial troops, and before the forces of Husain 'Ali were won over. But Saiyid 'Abdu-llah did not approve of this course. He knew the Emperor was firmly established, while his own army was dispirited, and it was very inexpedient to march against the enemy without *toras.*[1] He thought it best to proceed to Dehli, there to assemble soldiers and win the support of the *amirs.* So he went on to Dehli.

As the news (of Husain 'Ali's death) spread, the Mewattis and the turbulent *zamindars* rose up and gathered round Saiyid 'Abdu-llah on every side. They attacked the baggage and tents in the rear, and plundered whatever they could lay hands on. A detachment of the discouraged army was sent against them, but without success. A party of men who were with the Saiyid's tent equipage were killed along with their commanding officers. A convoy that was coming from Dehli, with property belonging to Husain 'Ali Khan, was attacked at the *sarai* of Jahana, two or three *kos* from Saiyid 'Abdu-llah's army, and it and the property and the wives of the men all fell into the hands of the marauders.

[1] This word here seems to have a more general meaning than that given to it by the dictionaries. Pavet de Courteille, in his *Dictionnaire Turk Oriental,* says, "Pieces de bois et de fer qu'on relie ensemble avec des chaines et des crochets et derriere lesquelles s'abritent les soldats."

In the *jagirs* belonging to Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, and in those of all the Saiyids, and of the officials and collectors of the two brothers, wherever the news came, the rent-paying *raiyats* and the turbulent *zamindars* seized the opportunity and turned out the collectors of the *jagirdars*. Before order was restored in the State, the produce of the *kharif* harvest had for the most part gone into the hands of the *raiyats*.

Saiyid 'Abdu-llah sent Shuja'at 'Ali Khan and Murtaza Khan to the capital, and he also wrote to Najmu-d din 'Ali Khan, *subadar* of Dehli, for the purpose of raising soldiers. On the 8th Zi-l hijja, the news reached Najmu-d din. But before the news became public, he first put forth a statement the opposite of the information he had received, and sent a body of men, horse and foot, under the Kotwal, to the house of I'timadu-d daula, and the work of investing it went on for a watch or two of the night. The people in the house, who had received news beforehand, threw up defences and showed themselves resolved to defend it. The news spread and became the common talk in every street and market.

A letter now came from Saiyid 'Abdu-llah forbidding all injury to the family and establishment of I'timadu-d daula, or else the *subadar* thought better of his futile proceeding and recalled his men. On the day of the *'Id-i kurban*, Najmu-d din 'Ali Khan went in tears to the prayers, and when he returned he sent the envoys of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan to the residence of the sons of Jahandar Shah, to make provision for the government of the State. The young men had the door shut against the envoys of Murtaza Khan and Shuja'atu-llah Khan; but after a good deal of pressing, they admitted them and asked the reason of their coming; and when they were informed of it, they gave a sharp answer, flatly refusing. It is reported that after the envoys returned unsuccessful, they went to Neku Siyar, and received the same answer. Next they went to Sultan Ibrahim, son of Rafi'u-sh Shan, and urged him to accept the proposition, saying that his acceptance would save the lives of the party of the Saiyids. After some conversation he consented.

Elevation of Sultan Muhammad Ibrahim by way of Loan[1] *(ariyat)*

(Text, vol. ii, p. 914.) On the 9th Zi-l hijja, 1132 (1st October, A.D. 1720), Sultan Muhammad Ibrahim was raised to the throne with the title of Abu-l Fath Zahiru-d din Muhammad Ibrahim. Two days afterwards Saiyid 'Abdu-llah arrived and paid his homage. He received the title of *Ghaziu-d din Ghalib Jang*, the position of *Amiru-l umara* with the duties of *Mir-bakhshi*, and a *mansab* of 8,000. Najmu-d din Khan was made second *bakhshi*, Salabat Khan third *bakhshi* and Bairam Khan fourth, each one obtaining an advance in rank. A number of courtiers of the time of Rafi'u-d Darajat, who were in confinement, or had no *mansabs*, or despaired of promotion, were sent for and received *mansabs* and sums of money for their expenses. They were directed to enlist horsemen at the rate of eighty rupees per month for each man, and a sum of thirty or forty thousand rupees was advanced for the purpose. Hamid Khan Bahadur, uncle of Nizamu-l Mulk, who was deprived of his *jagir* when the war with the latter broke out, was restored to it, and received a sum of money. I'tikad Khan and ... other nobles of Farrukh Siyar's days, all received favours, and had expectations held out to them. [*Enlistment of horsemen.*]

(Vol. ii, p. 917.) On the 17th Zi-l hijja, Saiyid 'Abdu-llah came out of Dehli with Sultan Ibrahim and went to the *'I'd-gah*. Here he was joined by Ghulam 'Ali Khan from the royal army, by Tahawwur 'Ali Khan from Agra, and by others. ... Intelligence arrived that the Emperor Muhammad Shah, being freed from all troubles about Husain 'Ali Khan, was marching to the capital by the Rajput road. Saiyid 'Abdu-llah made his second and third march towards the *dargah* of Kutbu-d din; but when he heard of the Emperor's march from Agra, he took the road to Faridabad, where he waited in expectation of Saifu-d din 'Ali Khan and others with their Barha soldiers. A very extraordinary fact was that, notwithstanding the large outlay of money, the royal

[1] For a temporary purpose.

domestics and officials in the train of Sultan Ibrahim rode horses with no saddles. At every stage parties of Barha soldiers, Afghans with their troops, and *zamindars* on elephants, joined the army of Sultan Ibrahim. Soldiers of Husain 'Ali Khan, who had entered the service of Muhammad Shah and received a month's pay, deserted when they found an opportunity, and came over every day in parties of three or four hundred to join Saiyid 'Abdu-llah. Such was the eagerness to enter the service that one horse (*yabu*) would receive the *dagh* (brand) two or three times.

Sultan Ibrahim reached Niyul, thirty-five *kos* from Dehli. Here he was joined by Saifu-d din 'Ali Khan, brother of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, and others, who had been sent by Husain 'Ali Khan to raise forces in the neighbourhood of Barha. They brought with them altogether ten or twelve thousand horse, also 150 carts full of Barha Saiyids, each of whom thought himself equal to twenty well-accoutred horsemen, and had come in the expectation of making himself an *amir*, an elephant-rider, and a general. Each of these demanded one year's pay, a horse, and a robe.... On the 10th Muharram, 1133 (1st November, A.D. 1720), as the author has ascertained from the rolls of the *Bakhshi*, and as he heard from the mouth of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan, more than 90,000 horsemen had been entered in the lists. Of these fourteen or fifteen thousand perhaps were recruits, who rode ponies (*yabu*); some of the old soldiers were dispersed about the vicinity, and the remainder were present. Afterwards there were the followers of the traitor Churaman, of Muhkam Singh, and sundry other of the adherents of Husain 'Ali Khan, and the *zamindars* of the neighbourhood. According to report, the number exceeded 100,000 horse. All around as far as the eye could reach the earth seemed covered with horsemen.

Churaman Jat arrived with his brother, bringing three elephants and several camels that he had cut off from the royal army. These were offered as an introduction to Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, who gave them to that good-for-nothing fellow (Churaman). One matter of great discouragement to the old followers of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, and of favourable

influence on the fortunes of the Emperor, was this. Notwithstanding all the lavish distribution of the money, which had been collected by carts full from house to house, and which had been extorted in bribery or with violence by Ratan Chand from the wretched *raiyats*, and laid up for a time like this, when it would be spent in vain;—notwithstanding all this, the old soldiers wanted two months' pay in advance, that they might free themselves from their liabilities to the bankers, and provide themselves with warm clothing, arms, and harness. They were satisfied with the promise of one month's pay, and at last money for the pay of ten days of Muharram was somehow raised, but they could not get the balance. It was very different in the royal army, where Haidar Kuli Khan *Bahadur Nasir Jang* had won the hearts of the artillerymen by exerting himself to the best of his ability to obtain the settlement of their pay.

On the 19th Muharram, the royal army encamped at Shahpur.... The army was not half as numerous as that of the enemy, and it waited for the arrival of Saifu-d daula, 'Abdu-s Samad Khan Bahadur *Diler Jang*, and Rajadhiraj Jai Singh. But although intelligence of their approach was brought, distance and other obstacles delayed their arrival. Muhammad Khan Bangash came in with two or three thousand horse. 'Aziz Khan Rohilla, Sabit Khan, and Bayazid Khan Mewatti joined with their forces, and three or four thousand horse arrived from Raja Jai Singh. Some *zamindars* of the country round also joined.... Two or three leading men, who deemed it expedient to stay with the royal army, such as Muhkam Singh and other proteges of the two brothers, kept up a correspondence with Saiyid 'Abdullah, assuring him that they would join him at the proper time. The wretched Churaman Jat, who belonged to a race of traitors,... communicated with Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, who urged him to set fire to the powder magazine, or to make a dash and bring the artillery bullocks over to him. The rascal did his best to accomplish this, but he was foiled by the vigilance of Haidar Kuli Khan.

Battle between Muhammad Shah and Saiyid 'Abdu-llah

(Text, vol. ii, p. 921.) [*Dispositions made of the officers and forces on both sides.*] On the 12th Muharram, 'Abdu-llah Khan's forces encamped at Husainpur, three *kos* from the Imperial army, and made arrangements for battle. But there were such contentions among the officers, who were unwilling to serve under the orders of each other, that a proper disposition with right and left wings could not be made. Each chief raised his standard where he chose, and would not consent to obey any other.... On the 17th of the month during the night, Muhkam Singh, Khudadad Khan, and Khan Mirza, with seven or eight hundred horse, deserted the royal army, and joined that of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah.... Muhammad Shah mounted his elephant to take the field; but as he did so, he ordered that the head of the vile Ratan Chand, who had been the chief cause of the unpopularity of the Saiyids, should be struck from his filthy body, so that the world might be gladdened by being cleansed from his polluting existence. So his head was cut off and thrown as a propitious omen before the feet of the Emperor's elephant. The royal forces were then set in motion.... The deadly fire of the royal artillery so shook the new recruits in the enemy's army, that some of the pony-riders and some even of the old soldiers took to flight.... The Saiyids of Barha charged many times most heroically, and towards the close of day they nearly won the battle, through a movement made by Najmu-d din 'Ali Khan Bahadur. He advanced a battery of guns under the cover of some trees on a hill near a village, and made a bold charge with fourteen or fifteen thousand horse upon the royal artillery, when a fierce contest followed.... At length some of the enemy's guns were taken by the Imperialists, and the Barhas lost their battery.... As night came on, Saiyid 'Abdu-llah ordered a small tent to be pitched for him to pass the night in on the field; but he afterwards directed it to be removed.... When it grew dark, Haidar Kuli Khan pushed forward his guns, and opened so heavy a fire,... that the enemy fell back, and some went off for refuge to the

cities and towns, but most of these were plundered on their way by the *zamindars* and Mewattis. . . . Out of the 100,000 horsemen of the enemy's army, only seventeen or eighteen thousand held their ground through the terrible cannonade of that night. The chiefs and the old Barha adherents passed all the night hungry and thirsty on the backs of their elephants and horses, for the water was in the possession of the Jats, who plundered friend and foe alike, and no horsemen or footmen of either side could reach the water. No one slept, and all the chiefs looked with anxiety for the morning. Towards morning a cannon-ball struck the *howda* in which Muhkam Singh was seated, when he jumped upon a horse and fled precipitately. For some time afterwards no one knew whether he was alive or dead. . . . When morning came, Muhammad Shah, who had been sitting on his elephant for eight or nine watches, gave the order to advance. On the other side, Najmu-d din Khan, with some other brave and devoted Barha chiefs, boldly came forward. They were met by the valiant and trusty men of the royal army, and a hard fight ensued. [*Names of killed and wounded.*] Najmu-d din 'Ali, the leading spirit of the Barha army, received three or four dangerous wounds, and was struck near the eyes by arrows and blinded. When Saiyid 'Abdu-llah saw the desperate position of his brother, he brought up a party of the Barha braves to his rescue. Muhammad Shah, hearing of the fierce struggle that was going on, wished to join in the fight, and give proofs of the hereditary courage of his race, but his attendants prevented him.

The villain Churaman Jat had several times attacked the (royal) baggage, and killed several men. He carried off nearly a thousand bullock and baggage camels, which had been collected on a sand-bank by the side of the Jumna, with no suspicion of the rascal's intention. He also plundered some other camels carrying provisions and official papers. Then he had the audacity to move up in support of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, and attacked the royal forces. Muhammad Shah himself shot three or four arrows at him.

Itimadu-d daula and Hadi Khan, commander of the royal musketeers, discharged their arrows at the accursed wretch.

When Saiyid 'Abdu-llah charged with his brave companions to the support of the remaining Barha Saiyids, they recovered their powers, and fought so fiercely that, notwithstanding the exertions of Samsamu-d daula and other brave chiefs, the royal army began to waver. Haidar Kuli Khan and ... seeing how matters stood, staked their lives upon the venture, and charged upon the flank of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah. The Saiyid, on becoming aware of what was passing, drove his elephant against Haidar Kuli. The attack of Haidar Kuli was overwhelming. Saiyid 'Abdu-llah had often, at the critical point of a battle, followed the practice of the braves of Hindustan, and had descended from his elephant and fought bravely on foot in the sight of many; but on this fated day, when he fought against the Imperial army, he so lost command of himself that, without showing his prowess, he was flurried, and dismounted from his elephant, in the hope that the Barha braves would dismount from their horses and join him (in a charge). Some two or three thousand horse, under the *bakhshi* of the army and other commanders, remained firm, more or less near to Saiyid 'Abdu-llah; but the rest of the army, when they saw what was passing, fled with Saifu-d din 'Ali Khan and ... towards Dehli, leaving the brave Barhas and Afghans with the *bakhshi* to their fate.

Saiyid 'Abdu-llah received a sword-cut on his hand and a flesh wound from an arrow in the forehead, when Haidar Kuli and his companions, sword in hand, charged upon him. Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, exclaiming that he was a Saiyid, called for quarter, and Haidar Kuli mercifully made him prisoner. Ghaziu-d din Khan kept up the fight for nearly two *gharis* after Saiyid 'Abdu-llah's capture, and then fell back with a portion of the baggage which had escaped the pillage of the Jats and Mughals.

The shouts of victory rose high from the army of Muhammad Shah, and Haidar Kuli brought his prisoner on an elephant to the presence of Muhammad Shah, who showed the clemency of the race of Timur, spared his life, and placed him under the charge of Haidar Kuli Khan.

Saiyid Najmu-d din, who was so severely wounded that there was no hope of his life; Saiyid 'Ali Khan *bakhshi*, and some others were made prisoners. Hamid Khan and some others came over to the royal army in hope of receiving quarter. All the elephants and treasure and *materiel* which remained from the plunderers were searched for and collected. .

The innocent Sultan Muhammad Ibrahim had sought refuge in the jungle, but he was made prisoner, and brought before the Emperor; but as he had had no choice in what he had done, he received the royal pardon.

On Friday, 14th Muharram, intelligence of the fall of the Barha rule and of the captivity of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah reached Dehli. His women, of whom he had gathered a large number around him, were in dismay; but a good many of them made the best of the time, and before the arrival of the royal guard, they seized whatever they could, and disguising themselves with old veils and sheets, they took their departure. Some, who were of noble Saiyid birth, threw the sheet of modesty over their heads, and remained in their places.

On the 17th Muharram, Muhammad Shah began his march from the battle-field to Dehli, before even he rewarded his supporters by augmentations of their *mansabs* or promotions in rank. Ghulam 'Ali Khan had been left in Dehli with Najabat 'Ali Khan as representative of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah. Whatever they could get together of *ashrafis* and jewels, they took with them, and went out of the citadel and fortifications, now that the position was changed. Ghulam 'Ali saw that the times were too dangerous for one man to trouble himself about another; so he saved himself and such property as he was able to carry off. Najabat 'Ali was a youth of thirteen or fourteen; he was the adopted son of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan, and brother's son of him and of Ghulam 'Ali. He was made prisoner by some of Muhammad Shah's men, and conducted to the presence, when he was ordered to be confined with Saiyid 'Abdu-llah.

On the 19th, Muhammad Shah reached the outskirts of the city, and halted there two days for arranging sundry

affairs of State. He paid a visit to the *dargah* of Khawaja Kutbu-d din, and gave a sum of money to the attendants... The chiefs and officers who had shown their gallantry and devotion in the battle now received augmentations, and gifts of robes and elephants and jewels, the details of which would exceed due limits. Haidar Kuli Khan Bahadur Nasir Jang received an addition of a thousand to his six thousand, and was advanced to the title of *Mu'izzu-d daula*. On the 22nd, Muhammad Shah entered the capital.... *Saifu-d daula* 'Abdu-s Samad Khan Bahadur *Dilcr Jang* and Aghar Khan came from Lahore to pay their homage. ...In the month of Safar Raja Jai Singh Dhiraj came from his native land, and Raja Giridhar Bahadur from the *suba of* Oude,... and on the representations of these two, the order which had been given for the collection of the *jizya* from the *zimmis* was recalled, on account of the distress which had been suffered from the operations of the armies, and because grain was dear, and the collection was deferred until the recovery of the prosperity of the *raiyats,* and the settlement of the country. Raja Ajit Singh, subadar of Ahmadabad and Ajmir, had exceeded his authority by prohibiting the slaughter of cows in his jurisdiction; so Sa'adat Khan, *subadar* of Agra, was summoned to Court, and sent to punish him; but he begged to be excused. Afterwards Samsamu-d daula, Kamru-d din Khan Bahadur, and Haidar Kuli Khan were ordered to discharge this duty. Each one accepted the duty reposed in him, and even sent on his travelling equipage; but they all retracted, and did not think it advisable to proceed; especially Samsamu-d daula, who was afraid that it would be a tedious undertaking, and that the royal funds would not suffice. It might even cause disturbances in other parts, where men were ill disposed. So not one of these *amirs* was willing to go. At this time intelligence arrived that Nizamu-l Mulk had given Raja Ajit Singh a sharp warning. So the Raja sent a message professing obedience, announcing his withdrawal from Ahmadabad, and praying for his retention in the suba of Ajmir. . . . Haidar Kuli Khan was appointed to succeed him at Ahmadabad.

Nizamu-l Mulk Minister

(Text, vol. ii, p. 939.) In the latter days of Rabi'u-l akhir, 1133 A.H. (February, A.D. 1721), Muhammad Amin Khan Chin died, after a four or five days' illness. I'nayatu-llah Khan was directed to perform the duties of *wazir* as deputy. Letters had repeatedly been written to Nizamu-l Mulk, calling him to Court; for several affairs of State required settlement and the matter of the office of *wazir* waited for the counsel of that master of the sword and pen. Nizamu-l Mulk, having settled the affairs of the Afghans at Bijapur, returned to Aurangabad, and setting out from thence at the end Zi-l hijja, he reached Dehli in the latter part of Rabi'u-l akhir. Envious detractors had cast aspersions upon him; but the Emperor acted as if he had never heard them, and sent Samsamu-d daula in state to meet him. On the 22nd Rabi'u-l akhir, he entered the city, and paid his homage to the Emperor. In consequence of the charges brought against him, to record which would be a perversion of language, some days were passed in deliberation; but on the 5th Jumada-l awwal, 1134 A.H. (8th February, A.D. 1722), in the fourth year of the reign, he was appointed *wazir*, and received the usual robe, a dagger, an ornamental pen-case, and a diamond ring of great value.

Nizamu-l Mulk was anxious to carry out the duties of his office to maintain the character of the Emperor, and to accumulate funds, without which a sovereign falls into disrepute. But he was unable to accomplish his wishes through the interference of adversaries who maligned him to the Emperor, and obstructed his authority as *wazir*. In particular, Koki Padshah, a woman of great charms and intelligence, colluded with Khwaja Khidmatgar Khan, who was said to be one of the Emperor's close companions, and, under the show of providing means and raising funds, they levied large sums under the name of *peshkash* for the Emperor and for themselves. This was a great difficulty in the *wazir's* way. Other associates of the Emperor made ridiculous insinuations against Nizamu-l Mulk, which the weak-minded Emperor believed. Haidar Kuli Khan, who

had firmly established himself in the command of the artillery, meddled with plausible talk in revenue and civil affairs. When Nizamu-l Mulk spoke about it to the Emperor, and he, in a prudent and gentle way, prohibited Haidar Kuli Khan from pursuing that course, the Khan was offended, and asked to be sent to his *suba*. Leave being granted, he left a deputy at Court and set off for Ahmadabad in the middle of Jumada-l akhir. On arriving there, he seized upon the *jagirs* of several royal servants and courtiers. When this was complained of repeatedly, an admonitory *farman* was sent to him, prohibiting the sequestration of *jagirs*. But this had no effect. At length his *jagirs* in the neighbourhood of Dehli were seized in compensation for those he had resumed at Ahmadabad.

Death of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah

(Text, vol. ii, p. 941.) Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan died on the last day of Zi-l hijja in this year (1134 A.H., 30th September, A.D. 1722). It is said that he was poisoned. If so, it is extraordinary that I should have heard from the mouths of credible men the statement that when Muhammad Shah started on his march against Sultan Ibrahim and Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan, he vowed to God, that in the event of his gaining the victory and securing his throne, he would not kill or crush the Saiyid, however great his crimes might be. Nizamu-l Mulk also strove to smooth matters for the Saiyid; for whenever in conversation the two brothers were spoken of, he praised the excellent character of Saiyid 'Abdu-llah and expressed his belief in the Saiyid's innocence of the death of Farrukh Siyar. He contended against those who condemned the brothers, and he had forbidden men to designate them in writing as *Namak ba-haram* and *Haram-namak*. God forbid that his counsel should have been given for poison! But God knows!

In the course of this narrative, upon certain points the pen has been used to condemn the two brothers, martyrs of misfortune, and this cannot now be rectified; but in

atonement I will now write a few words upon the excellence and beauty of character, the love of justice, and the liberality of both brothers. What has been said about them, and especially about Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, in the matter of the death of Farrukh Siyar, the acceptance of bribes, the hard dealings with farmers (*sakhti ijarah*), and other bad courses which became grounds of complaint among the people—these were all attributable to the evil influence of Ratan Chand, his *diwan*, who, having been raised to a position above his capacity, laboured hard to annoy the people. He was also troubled by fortune-seekers and needy adventurers, whose desires he was unable to satisfy. Husain 'Ali Khan, before he was appointed to the Dakhin, was exceedingly averse to the exaction of money; but while he was in the Dakhin, Muhkam Singh and other of his officials perverted his nature. But both the brothers were distinguished in their day for their generosity and leniency towards all mankind. The inhabitants of those countries which were innocent of contumacy and selfishness made no complaints of the rule of the Saiyids. In liberality and kindness to learned men and to the needy, and in the protection of men of merit, Husain 'Ali Khan excelled his elder brother, and was the Hatim suited to his day. Numbers owed their comfort to the cooked food and raw grain which he gave away. At the time of the scarcity at Aurangabad, he appropriated a large sum of money and a great quantity of grain to supply the wants of the poor and of widows. The reservoir at Aurangabad was begun by him, and although A'azzu-d daula 'Iwaz Khan enlarged and made higher the buildings and the mosque, still he was the originator of that extensive reservoir, which, in summer when water is scarce, relieves the sufferings of the inhabitants. In their native country of Barha they built *sarais*, bridges, and other buildings for the public benefit. Saiyid 'Abdu-llah was remarkable for his patience, endurance, and wide sympathy.

Mulla 'Abdu-l Ghafur Bhora, chief of the merchants in the port of Surat, died leaving a *kror* and several *lacs*

of rupees in cash and effects. Although he left heirs, Haidar Kuli Khan, who was then *mutasaddi* of the port, in order to show his zeal and his desire to please the Emperor Farrukh Siyar, seized upon all the property, and made a report to Court. Just at this time the change of government occurred which has been related, and 'Abdu-l Hai, one of the sons went to Court to complain, and he stated the case to the two brothers. He offered to pay fifteen *lacs* of rupees for the release of the property, besides the sums which he promised Ratan Chand and other of the officials. The port of Surat was under the jurisdiction of Husain 'Ali Khan. One morning, before the rising of the sun, he sent for Diyanat Khan, who had just been appointed *diwan* of the *khalisa,* and told him that he had gone through a sharp conflict in the night with the covetousness ,which the wealth of 'Abdu-l Ghafur had excited in his heart, but that he had prevailed over his temptation, and had thrown off all desire for the money. The *diwan* therefore was to send for 'Abdu-l Hai, and to remove all claim to the property, and to present him with a robe and a horse, without his having to spend a *dam* or a *diram,* and without having to apply to any other person. [*Other anecdotes.*]

The Jats

(Vol. ii, p. 944.) The tribe of Jats, under the leading of the sons of Churaman, who was lately deceased, had strengthened and armed some forts in the neighbourhood of Agra. The turbulence, disaffection and robberies of this vile class of men in the reigns of Aurangzeb and Farrukh Siyar have been related. Sa'adat Khan, *subadar* of Agra, a man renowned for his bravery and determination, although he did his best and showed great resolution, was unable to inflict any real satisfactory chastisement on them, because of the density of the woods and the inaccessibility of the places to which they retired. In consequence of this, Raja Jai Singh Dhiraj was ordered on the service, with many warlike *amirs* of the Mughals of Iran and Turan, and Afghans of well-known courage. Fourteen or fifteen thousand horse were assembled under him, he had a strong

force of artillery and siege materials, and he received a present of two *lacs* of rupees, a robe and a horse. The Raja began by clearing away the jungle, and then by fighting vigorously and pushing forward his artillery, he pressed the insurgents hard. The rebels came out of some of the forts, and taking refuge in the jungle, they made sudden attacks upon the royal forces, and large numbers were killed on both sides. In the course of a month and a half two forts were closely invested; but by good fortune one of the nephews of the rebel—for they had a quarrel among themselves about their country—left him, and joining the *raja*, acted as guide. After the two forts were reduced, the rebels abandoned their chief stronghold in the night, having set fire to the houses, blown up the powder magazine, and carried off with them all the money and valuables that were portable. They left their guns and grain, which, with the fort, were taken possession of by the royal forces. There was a strong report of there being treasure in the fort; but although great search was made, and several places were dug up, not a trace of it was found.

Haidar Kuli Khan

(Vol. ii, p. 946.) When Haidar Kuli Khan heard of the confiscation of his *jagirs* around Dehli, he represented to His Majesty, through some of the *amirs* at Court, that although his *jagirs* had been seized, he would not fail in his duty and fidelity. As stated above, censures of these proceedings were repeatedly sent to Haidar Kuli Khan without any effect. At last the complaints of the *jagirdars* and the insubordination of Haidar Kuli passed all bounds, so the *subadari* of Ahmadabad was taken away from him and given to Ghaziu-d din Khan Bahadur, eldest son of Nizamu-l Mulk.

After the Jat affair was settled, Nizamu-l Mulk left Court on the 2nd Safar, in the fifth year of the reign, to provide for the government of Ahmadabad, and to coerce Haidar Kuli Khan, if he made any resistance. When he reached Agra, some deceitful plausible letters arrived from Haidar Kuli, making all sorts of excuses. Nizamu-l Mulk

continued his march till he reached the confines of Malwa. From letters which he then received from Ahmadabad it appeared that Haidar Kuli Khan was very ill, and that he had shown some signs of insanity. According to other accounts, it appears that when Haidar Kuli Khan heard of the approach of Nizamu-l Mulk, of his being joined by 'Iwaz Khan and the armies of the Dakhin, and by Baji Rao, and other Mahrattas of Raja Sahu, and of the readiness of his associates in Ahmadabad to recognise Nizamu-l Mulk, he, for the purpose of defeating that general, feigned to be sick, and gave out that symptoms of madness had appeared. Haidar Kuli sent his son to the Emperor with a letter in which he offered his excuses and announced his intention of waiting upon His Majesty. Accordingly he set off for Dehli by way of Ajmir. Nizamu-l Mulk ascertained this fact when he was near the Nerbudda, seven or eight *kos* from Ahmadabad. He appointed Hamid Khan to act as deputy *subadar* of Ahmadabad, and at the beginning of Jumada-l akhir turned back towards the capital.

Return of Nizamu-l Mulk to the Dakhin for the Second Time[1]

(Text, vol. ii, p. 947.) When Nizamu-l Mulk arrived at Court, he was anxious, as a prudent minister, to show his devotion and competency in the service of the Emperor, by settling affairs of State, accumulating funds, and putting down disturbances. But there was the envy and opposition of the courtiers, especially of Koki Padshah, who would interfere in ministerial affairs, and by receiving bribes and improper gifts, was bringing the Emperor into bad odour. She was strongly opposed to Nizamu-l Mulk. Lastly, there was the indifference of the Emperor himself, who made no resistance to the ill repute he was falling into. For these reasons it appeared to Nizamu-l Mulk that he could not accomplish what was right by continuing to act as *wazir*.

[1] This heading from the text has been here thrown back one paragraph.

Various reasons have been assigned for Nizamu-l Mulk's second departure for the Dakhin; but I will relate the explanation which I have heard from credible sources.

At this time intelligence came to Muhammad Shah from Persia of the success of Mahmud Khan Afghan over Sultan Husain Shah, the sovereign of Iran. It appeared that the territory from Isfahan to Shiraz had passed into his hands; that the people of Isfahan had suffered great hardships; that Sultan Husain had been made prisoner, and that Prince Tahmasp, with the brothers and sons of Sultan Husain, had left the fortress of Isfahan, with the object of raising forces.

One day Nizamu-l Mulk, with the best intentions, told the Emperor that the system of farming the *khalisa* lands was very injurious to the country, and ought to be set aside; secondly, that the bribes which were received, under the name of *peshkash*, were disgraceful to the Emperor and adverse to good policy; thirdly, that the *jizya* upon infidels ought to be collected as in the days of Aurangzeb; fourthly, he recalled the fact that in the days of the rebellion against the Emperor Humayun, when the realm of Hindustan passed into the hands of Sher Shah Afghan, the Shah of Persia had rendered great help and service, and had shown hospitality to Humayun, when he went towards Persia. If the Emperor Muhammad Shah were now to help the ruler of Persia in repelling the domination of the Afghans, it would be recorded in history as a lasting honour to the House of Timur. The Emperor said, "Whom have I got to send on such a service?" Nizamu-l Mulk replied, "Any one of your enterprising officers whom you might send on this service would carry out your orders; or if it should please you to name me for the duty, I would strive heart and soul to accomplish it," and he added some more professions of his loyalty and devotion.

When the Emperor consulted with other nobles of his Court on this subject, a party of them perverted the good opinion which the Emperor entertained of Nizamu-l Mulk, and set him against his wise and excellent minister. The

etiquette of the Court and the discipline of the State had fallen entirely away from the proper dignified standard of royalty, and Nizamu-l Mulk desired that orders should be issued to restore it to a suitable style. This greatly irritated the courtiers, and day by day they made statements about Nizamu-l Mulk which were entirely opposed to his thoughts, and by envious and malicious insinuations they poisoned the mind of the Emperor against his devoted servant. They put such injurious designs into the head of the inexperienced Emperor against Nizamu-l Mulk, that for the sake of prudence and to save his honour, he at the end of Rabi-ul awwal, in the sixth year of the reign, got a few days' leave of absence in the name of hunting and left Dehli. Upon the excuse of needing change of air, he went thirty or forty *kos* from the capital to the side of the Ganges. There he hunted and recruited his health.

While he was so engaged, bad news arrived of the disorders caused by the Mahrattas and other insurgents in Ahmadabad and Malwa, the first of these two provinces being held in the name of Nizamu-l Mulk himself, and the other in the name of his son, Ghaziu-d din Khan Bahadur. This became the common talk, and Nizamu-l Mulk, having written on the subject to the Emperor, received permission to go and restore order in his two provinces.... Before he arrived at Ujjain, the Mahrattas heard of his approach, and taking warning departed from the river Nerbadda towards the Dakhin. The other insurgents also put a stop to their outrages.

Nizamu-l Mulk followed them to the neighbourhood of Ujjain but when he heard that they had crossed the Nerbadda, he gave up the pursuit and fell back to the *pargana* of Sahur, near Sironj, in Malwa, intending to return to Court after he had set in order the affairs of that province. While he was thus occupied, important intelligence came from the Dakhin. Mubariz Khan, *nazim* of the *suba* of Haidarabad two years before, at the close of the war with 'Alam 'Ali Khan, came to Nizamu-l Mulk, and made great professions of zeal and devotion. Nizamu-l Mulk took an interest in him, and obtained for him from

the Emperor an addition of 2,000 to his former 4,000, the title of *'Imadu-l Mulk Mubariz Khan Bahadur Ilizbar Jang* [*and other distinctions for himself and his sons*]. Mubariz Khan had served Nizamu-l Mulk faithfully. He now gave out that he had been appointed *subadar* of the whole Dakhin, and leaving Haidarabad, he went to take possession of Aurangabad. . . .

The letters which Nizamu-l Mulk received from Court informed him that his son Ghaziu-d din, whom he had left as his deputy in the office of *wazir*, had been removed, that I'timadu-d daula Kamru-d din Khan had been appointed *wazir*, and that under the influence of Koki, bribery had increased. For these reasons, and for others which cannot be committed to writing, he proceeded from Malwa towards the Dakhin which country indeed was the conquest of that illustrious general and his ancestors. At the end of the month of Ramazan he arrived at Aurangabad. He repeatedly wrote to Mubariz Khan, but the answers which he received were proud and haughty, and made no profession of giving up his designs. Nizamu-l Mulk was very calm and forgiving. He again sent several admonitory letters, reminding Mubariz of old obligations, and he waited at Aurangabad for two months to see what time would bring forth. But the destroying angel had lain his hands upon Mubariz Khan, and led him towards Aurangabad.

Mubariz Khan was joined by Bahadur Khan, brother of Daud Khan Pani, and by others with considerable bodies of men. He had collected large numbers of infantry, and his army was daily increasing. This was a great injury to the country, and encouraged the restless Mahrattas. At the end of Zi-l ka'da Nizamu-l Mulk marched out of Aurangabad, and encamped by the tank of Jaswant, near the city. He still wrote letters to Mubariz to prevent a war, and save the lives of Musulmans; but his adversary was deluded with the prospect of being *subadar* of the Dakhin, and remonstrances were of no avail. Mubariz took counsel with his adherents. First he proposed to make a rapid march and fall unawares on Nizamu-l Mulk. Then he proposed to threaten his opponent's flanks, and by a

rapid march in another direction throw himself into Aurangabad, and make himself master of the city. This plan he endeavoured to carry out. On the 23rd Muharram a battle was fought near the town of Shakar-Khera, in Birar, about forty *kos* from Aurangabad. [*Long account of the plan and progress of the battle.*] Two sons of Mubariz Khan were killed and two were wounded and made prisoners. Mubariz Khan's elephant-driver received a number of wounds, and fell off the elephant. The Khan himself then wrapped a garment soaked with his own blood around him, and drove the animal himself, until he fell dead under the many wounds he received. Shouts of victory then rose high from the successful army. Nizamu-l Mulk next day provided for the burial of the dead, and took especial care that the wounds of Mubariz Khan's two sons should be carefully attended to He afterwards gave them a large amount in goods, jewels, and stuffs, to set them up in life again.

After the victory, Nizamu-l Mulk marched towards Aurangabad. On his way he learnt that Khwaja Ahmad Khan, son of Mubariz Khan, who had been left as deputy in charge of Haidarabad, had gone into the fortress of Muhammad-nagar, near the city, with his property and goods, and that he had set the fort in order. After a short stay at Aurangabad, Nizamu-l Mulk marched to *Farkhunda-bunyad* Haidarabad, . . . and by grant of *jagirs* and other favours, induced Khwaja Ahmad to give up the keys of the fortress.

Nizamu-l Mulk had never moved a hair's breadth in opposition to the Imperial dynasty; but in all his undertakings had shed a new glory on the House of Timur. Now there came to him from the Emperor an elephant, jewels, and the title of *Asaf Jah*, with directions to settle the country, repress the turbulent, punish the rebels, and cherish the people. Under his former rule the troubles caused by the Mahrattas and other enemies had been mitigated; but although Mubariz Khan apparently did not pay the *chauth* according to the agreement made by the Saiyids, and had shown much activity in punishing the

Mahrattas, still their officials, whenever and wherever they found the opportunity, levied the *chauth*, and whatever else they could get, and many of the roads were closed.

(Text, vol. ii, p. 965.) When Nizamu-l Mulk was appointed *subadar* of Ahmadabad, Haidar Kuli Khan repaired to Court; but he left (as his deputies) in Ahmadabad, Shuja'at Khan and Ibrahim Kuli Khan, two brothers, whom he had brought forward in the world, and he also left the third brother, Rustam 'Ali Khan, as his deputy at Surat.... Nizamu-l Mulk appointed his uncle, Hamid Khan, to be deputy governor of Ahmadabad..... On hearing of his approach, Shuja'at Ali and Ibrahim Kuli desired to go into the city and oppose his entry, or, according to another account, to obtain promises of safety, and then to submit. There was a continual state of hostility and war between these three brothers and the Mahrattas, and they did not pay the *chauth*. Safdar Khan Bani had a bitter hatred of Haidar Kuli Khan. With seven or eight thousand horse he joined the enemy and went to meet Hamid Khan, and persuaded him that the three brothers were resolved upon resistance. It happened that Shuja'at Khan, riding on an elephant, met Hamid Khan as he was entering, and he drove his elephant towards that of Hamid Khan. A struggle then began in which Shuja'at Khan was killed. Ibrahim Kuli Khan hid himself in his house,... but he was soon afterwards killed in a party fight.... Rustam Ali Khan heard at Surat of the death of his brothers, and his fraternal blood boiled to avenge them. He immediately began his preparations for exacting vengeance.

Between Rustam 'Ali Khan and Piluji, a Mahratta chieftain at the head of ten or eleven thousand men, there had been for a year past a continual state of war, in consequence of a refusal to pay the *chauth*. There had been repeated conflicts, but no decisive action. Rustam Ali, under pressure of events, made friendly overtures to Piluji, and after a peace was settled he united the Mahratta's forces with his own. Piluji, on his side, thought that fortune was in his favour, and joined him with his forces.... Hamid Khan, hearing of Rustam Ali's preparations,

prepared his army and artillery, and he was joined by a Malhratta chief named Kantha, with 12,000 horse. On reaching the banks of the Mahi, a great battle was fought, with a heavy loss of killed and wounded on both sides.... Hamid Khan was defeated, and his tents and baggage were plundered. He fled from the field to the river-side. Rustam Ali having gained the victory encamped a *kos* or two farther on. Hamid Khan won over the crafty Piluji, and on the next day gave battle again. Rustam Ali had lost most of his brave veterans in the fight but he prepared to resist. The forces of Piluji now fell on Rustam Ali's baggage, and after some sharp fighting Rustam Ali's force was routed, and he himself was killed. The Mahrattas on both sides fell to plundering and carried off whatever they could from the bazars and shops of Ahmadabad and the districts round Baroda.

The Emperor Muhammad Shah, on being informed of these events, sent Sarbuland Khan to be governor of Ahmadabad. Nizamu-l Mulk recalled Hamid Khan. But although Sarbuland Khan had an army of seven or eight thousand horse, most of whom were veterans, and a strong force of artillery, the Mahratta forces so swarmed in the province that he was unable to settle its affairs or to punish the enemy. Their power increased from day to day, and the price of grain rose high. Sarbuland Khan was as it were besieged in the city; all that he could do was to wink at and rail against the Mahrattas, for as they numbered nearly 30,000 horse, he was unable to fight and chastise them. They ravaged the country round Ahmadabad up to its very gates. Many merchants and traders and artisans were so ill-treated and oppressed, that they left their native land, and wandered into foreign parts. The country could not repel the ravagers, and in its desolation it was unable to pay the sum required of it for the support of the soldiers, whose numbers were excessive. The officers with parties of men demanded their pay, and used violence and insolence in extorting it. At length it was arranged that, for the sake of quietness and to stop disturbances, the officers should obtain orders drawn upon bankers and merchants

for the pay. With these drafts they went to the bankers, seized them, put them in prison, and tortured them until they got the money. Bir-nagar was a flourishing town full of merchants of the famous Nagar class, who carried on there a trade amounting to *lacs* of rupees. That district, beyond all the flourishing places of Hindustan, abounded in every sort of wealth, gold, cash, and every production of nature; but it was ransacked by the enemy because the *subadars* were unable to answer the cries of the inhabitants for protection.

When a report of this state of things reached the Emperor Muhammad Shah, he removed Sarbuland Khan, and appointed Raja Dungar Singh in his place. On his arriving at Ahmadabad, Sarbuland Khan refused to admit him, and prepared to resist him by force of arms. So he fled, and for some days no trace was found of him. He did not go to Court, and the Emperor was much displeased with him, so he remained for a long time in disgrace.

This rich province, which no other province of Hindustan could equal, ... was reduced to such a state of wretchedness, that merchants and traders left their native land, abandoned their hereditary dwelling places, and dispersed over distant countries. But thanks to the mercy of God, the cries of the oppressed were heard, and the beneficent shade of Nizamu-l Mulk Bahadur Fath Jang Asaf Jah was to fall upon it, and to be the cause of its restoration to prosperity.

Administration of Nizamu-l Mulk

(Text, vol. ii, p. 972.) In a short time the country was brought under the control of Musulman authorities—it was scoured from the abominations of infidelity and tyranny. Under former *subadars* the roads had been infested with the ruffianism of highway robbers, and the rapacity of the Mahrattas and rebellious *zamindars*, so that traffic and travelling were stopped; but now the highways were safe and secure. The Mahrattas exacted the *chauth* with all sorts of tyranny from the *jagirdars;* and in addition to it,

ten per cent. under the name of *sar-deshmukhi* was collected from the *zamindars* and *raiyats*. By these means odious *kamaish-dars* were removed and changed every week and month; orders beyond all the endurance of the *raiyats* were issued, and annoyances and insults were heaped upon the collectors of the *jagirdars*. Nizamu-l Mulk so arranged that instead of the *chauth* of the *suba* of Haidarabad, a sum of money should be paid from his treasury; and that the *sar-deshmukhi*, which was levied from the *raiyats* at the rate of ten per cent., should be abandoned. He thus got rid of the presence of the *kamaish-dars* of the *chauth*, and the *gumashtas* of the *sar-deshmukhi* and the *rahdari*, from which latter impost great annoyance had fallen upon travellers and traders.

Events up to the Fourteenth Year of the Reign of Muhammad Shah

(Text, vol. ii, p. 973.) When Nizamu-l Mulk was removed from the office of *wazir*, Kamru-d din Khan Bahadur was appointed his successor, but a gracious *farman* was sent to Nizamu-l Mulk, with a robe and other presents, appointing him to the *wakalat*.[1] After losing two or three children which were born to him in his *harem* and soon died, a son was born of his wife, the daughter of Farrukh Siyar, who received the name of Ahmad Shah. Haidar Kuli Khan *Mir-i-atash* was sleeping with his wife in his khas-khana,[2] when it caught fire. His wife was burnt to death, and he was so injured before he was rescued, that medical treatment was of no avail, and he died. [*Political changes in Persia.*]

Conclusion of the Work

(Text, vol. ii, p. 978.) The history of the reign of the Emperor Muhammad Shah has thus been briefly written up

[1] "*Wakil-i mutlak*, Lieutenant of the Emperor, or Procurator General."—Briggs's *Siyaru Muta-akhkhirin*, p. 337.

[2] *Khas-khana*. A hut made of *khas* grass for the sake of coolness.

to the beginning of the fourteenth year. If by the mercy of God life and leisure are spared to me, the history shall be continued.

Jats

[*The following are the passages referred to supra*]

(Vol. ii, p. 316.) Aurangzeb (in the year 1095 A.H., A.D. 1684) sent Khan Jahan to punish and put down the Jats, and to destroy the fort of Sansi, which those infidels had built, under the protection of which fort they every month attacked and plundered several caravans, and ravaged the neighbourhood of Agra.

(Vol. ii, p. 394.) It was reported from Agra (in 1102 A.H., A.D. 1691), that under the royal command Aghar Khan was coming from Kabul to the presence. On approaching Agra, the Jats fell upon his train, and carried off some bullocks and carts, and made prisoners of some women. Aghar Khan, on being informed of this, pursued them and followed them to their fortress. After a display of great resolution, he rescued women, and sent them on their way. He then boldly determined to invest and besiege the fort of the Jats; but he was struck by a musket-bullet, and he and his son-in-law were both killed. Khan Jahan Bahadur Kokaltash, who had been sent to punish the Jats and reduce their fort, went upon the service confided to him; but although he exerted himself strenuously, he did not succeed in reducing their fort of Sansi, or their other strongholds. His failure and some unseemly acts of his gave offence to the Emperor (Aurangzeb), who recalled him and appointed Prince Bedar Bakht to act against the Jats.

(Vol. ii, p. 776.) Churaman the Jat was a notorious free-booter. His father, his grandfather, and his brothers had ravaged the neighbourhood of Agra and Fathpur since the days of Aurangzeb. Armies had frequently been sent against him under Prince Bedar Bakht, Khan Jahan, and other *amirs*, with the object of chastising him, and reducing the fort of Sansi, which the Jats had built. In the days of the struggle between A'zam Shah and Bahadur Shah, also

when Farrukh Siyar approached Agra, Churaman was very bold and daring. He plundered the royal train, and carried off much treasure and jewels. Raja Jai Singh was sent against him, and Saiyid Khan Jahan Bahadur, uncle of Kutbu-l Mulk Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, was sent after him in command of a separate supporting force. Through sundry obstacles and want of supplies, Saiyid Khan remained inactive several months near the city; but Raja Jai Singh marched against the enemy, opened trenches, and invested Churaman's fort. The struggle went on for more than a year. There were frequent fights, and many men fell on both sides. When Saiyid Khan arrived, the siege was pressed more vigorously, and the trenches were carried closer to the fort. Churaman, being hard pressed, sent his *vakil* direct to Kutub-l Mulk Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, promising to pay tribute, and to wait in person on the Emperor, if his offences were forgiven and a *mansab* granted to him. Raja Jai Singh knew nothing whatever of this; but the Emperor reluctantly agreed to Saiyid 'Abdu-llah's proposals. This was done against the Emperor's will, and greatly to the annoyance of Raja Jai Singh. The Raja, greatly vexed, came to Court, and when Churaman arrived, he was reluctantly allowed to wait upon the Emperor once; but the latter was so displeased with the peace that had been made, that he would not consent to see him again.

The End.

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